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30 August 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2192

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FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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30 August 1983

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

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LEADERS GREET ROMANIANS ON TREATY ANNIVERSARIES

AU171206 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Aug 83 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Telegrams of Czechoslovak Representatives To the Socialist Republic of Romania; Cordial Comradely Greetings"]

[Text] Prague--The highest representatives of Czechoslovakia and Romania have exchanged congratulatory telegrams on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the CSSR and the Socialist Republic of Romania and of the 35th anniversary of the first treaty of alliance between the two states.

The telegram, which was sent by Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and by CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal to Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, says:

Esteemed Comrades, on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the CSSR and the Socialist Republic of Romania and of the 35th anniversary of the first Czechoslovak-Romanian treaty of alliance, we are sending you, the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the government and the people of the Socialist Republic of Romania comradely greetings and cordial congratulations in the name of the CPCZ Central Committee, of the government and the people of the CSSR, and in our own name.

The relations between the CSSR and the Socialist Republic of Romania, between the Czechoslovak and the Romanian people are successfully developing in full harmony with the stipulations of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, signed between our two socialist states 15 years ago. This important contractual document has further developed the tried-and-true principles and experience of the Czechoslovak-Romanian cooperation, firm foundations for the all-round development of which were laid in the first treaty of alliance in 1948.

We in the CSSR hold our two countries' and nations' relations of friendship and all-round cooperation in high esteem. The close ties between our communist parties, which are based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist

internationalism, are of decisive importance for the strengthening of these relations. The results of mutual Czechoslovak-Romanian cooperation contribute to the incessant growth of the material and spiritual wealth of the peoples of our two countries and serve the cause of socialism, peace and progress.

We are convinced that both our countries and the Czechoslovak and Romanian people will continue to follow the path of close fraternal cooperation and actively contribute to further strengthening the unity and cohesion of the states of the socialist community and the international communist and workers' movement in their struggle against imperialism, for averting the threat of war and for lasting peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Esteemed Comrades, we wish you and all Romanian people many successes in fulfilling the resolutions of the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party and in the construction of an advanced socialist society.

CSO: 2400/405

HUNGARIAN FROM SLOVAKIA TO GIVE SHOW IN BUDAPEST

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 15 Jul 83 p 6

[Article, no author given: "Calling Card From Slovakia"]

[Text] We know little about the works of artists of Hungarian origin living in the neighboring socialist countries; therefore we were glad to receive the news that the capital city's art directorate invited Bela Loffler, the excellent sculptor who lives in Kassa [Kosice] to exhibit in Budapest. The Pataky Galery in Kobanya provided a home for the material of the master who has an extensive past in the workers' movement. In the three small halls we are given a cross section, selected with a fortunate hand, about the more significant stages of the nearly half century-long career.

Bela Loffler was born in Kassa in 1906 and completed his studies in the Prague academy of the civilian Czechoslovakia, then in Budapest and Paris. In the 1930's he spent a longer time in several Western European countries, and during the years of World War II he worked in the Soviet Union. His first exhibit of a collection was in 1937 in Kassa's Eastern Slovakian Museum, but he became truly known only after the liberation. This is when he began to work in memorial sculpture, and made among other things one of his best known works, the Memorial to the unknown soldier which stands in Kassa's Osloboditelov square. During the recent decades he has been working mostly on small plastics and portrait topics, and for his results achieved in this area he won the title of Worthy Artist in 1978.

Similarly to many of his Eastern European contemporaries, his work started out under the influence of classicism. His early works such as the Music, the Bathing Woman and the Act with Book show him as a follower of this direction with good ability, but with a somewhat schoolish spirit. It is probable that his stay in Paris and then his Western European trips guided his attention towards the more modern principles of plastic shaping, first of all the simplifying-analyzing methods of cubism. His archaizing-styled works prepared under the effect of this effort and related to the essence-capturing artistry of primitive peoples (Mother with her child, Fondness, Thinker, Pulling together, Standing act, Torso, etc.) are very noteworthy pieces of the concept's Eastern European output. This is because in their explosive dynamism and sensitive, rhythmic pictures there are tensions of progressive emotions and feelings expressing the desire for social change.

In spite of this, Loffler's true personality is expressed most fully not in these but in wood statues carved after the war. In these the harshness of cubism is coupled with disciplined lyricism which relaxes the closed world of statues and fills it with the unique restlessness of life and nature (Gothic shape, Vision in the forest, etc.). The finely elaborated slender female figures are original and pristine amalgams of sensuality and feminine ideal which become symbolic.

Besides the artistically rendered feminine body our artist is also often occupied with the human faces. In his portrait artistry besides character works the most appreciable factor is the very psychological sense which brings the model's spirituality to the surface. In the face he also tries to allow one to guess at the person's social status; for example his superb Kazinczy bust refers to the enlightened character of our great language reformer by presenting the writer's face to us in the era's rationalist spirit, in the classicizing proportional system. The other outstanding piece of the portrait series is the Roman mask; in this we can catch in action the life proximity of the Hellenistic culture, the superficial human knowledge of the great antique satirists.

Loffler's knowledge as a sculptor is shown not only by variation in his type and style of art but also by the extraordinary richness of materials and methods of working them: pure wood, abony, bronze, copper, marble, granite, and even ivory have roles in his repertoire; he carves miniatures with an oriental mood from this latter material which is hardly ever again used nowadays. His human as well as his artistic aspect urgently prove our need to get to know the Hungarian creative artists of the friendly countries the same way as [we have] recently experienced our country's children working on the Western hemisphere.

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

DELEGATION RETURNS FROM GDR--A study delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee headed by Miroslav Mueller, head of a party Central Committee department, returned from the GDR on 1 July. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Jul 83 p 2 AU]

BCP STUDY DELEGATION--A consultative group of the organizational department of the BCP Central Committee headed by Mavrudi Mavrudiev, deputy head of the department, arrived for a study visit to Prague on Monday at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. At Ruzyne Airport the guests were welcomed by Vladimir Kozic, deputy head of a CPCZ Central Committee department. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jul 83 p 2 AU] Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, yesterday received a BCP delegation led by Mavrudi Mavrudiev, deputy head of the BCP Central Committee Organizational Department at the end of its stay in the CSSR. In a comradely discussion, they briefed each other on the two fraternal parties' experiences in political-organizational work and internal party life and assessed the development of cooperation in this area. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Jul 83 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2400/404

## BULGARIA

### CENTRAL COMMITTEE DEPARTMENT SEMINAR ON MASS MEDIA ROLE

#### Report on Seminar

Sofia BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST in Bulgarian No 7, 1983 p 2

[Text] A seminar attended by senior workers in the press, radio, television, news agencies and publishing houses was held in Sofia on 27 and 28 April 1983. It was organized by the Mass Information Media Department of the BCP Central Committee and the Academy of Social Sciences and Social Management. Lectures were read by Vasil Tsanov, BCP Central Committee secretary, Belcho Belchev, minister of finance, and Nikola Stefanov, head of the BCP Central Committee Science and Education Department. The lecturers discussed some topical problems in the fields of economics, culture and education in the light of the new theoretical developments and practical approaches developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov after the 12th BCP Congress.

A conference attended by the participants in the seminar, okrug BCP committee secretaries and senior personnel of sociopolitical organizations took place at the Lyudmila Zhivkova People's Palace of Culture on 29 April. The conference was chaired by Stoyan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee secretary.

The opening speech on the main report, "Some Topical Problems Facing the Mass Information and Propaganda Media in the Light of the New Theoretical Developments and Practical Approaches Developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov" was delivered by Lalyu Dimitrov, head of the Mass Information Media Department of the BCP Central Committee (published separately).

Statements were made by Yordan Yotov, Veselin Yosifov, Vladislav Panov, Valentin Karamanchev, Mikhail Milchev, Stefan Tikhchev, Nikolay Dobrev and Damyan Obreshkov. The speakers expressed their agreement with the stipulations contained in the main report and shared their experience, views and concepts on the specific implementation in editorial work of the responsible assignments facing Bulgarian journalism regarding the central task of our social development: the high quality and effectiveness of socialist labor. Problems of quality were discussed in terms of their meaning and as a topical theme in the work of the press, radio, television and book publishing and their attitude toward the profession of journalism itself. The need to improve and update journalistic skills and attain high quality work in journalism was considered as the answer to the strict party instruction pertaining to all areas of social practice.

Stoyan Mikhaylov delivered the concluding speech at the conference. He gave a positive assessment to the proceedings of the conference sponsored by the BCP Central Committee Mass Information Media Department as an expression of the systematic work done by the department with the journalists working in the mass information media, their leading personnel in particular, and discussed the question of quality and the central problem of intensification and overall social development. He emphasized that the decision of the party's Central Committee to convene a National Party Conference next year to consider problems of quality is a reflection of the assessment of our party leadership, headed by comrade Todor Zhivkov, of the importance of quality in overall social life.

He delineated the main trends and conclusions which the workers in Bulgarian journalism should pursue and draw on the basis of this party formulation in terms of their own work and the further improvement and enhancement of spiritual ideological efficiency in the mass information media, first as a task of improving the quality of press publications, radio and television transmissions and book publication; second, as a struggle on their part for high quality in the other fields of life, such as material production, services, science, art, etc.

He then discussed some problems related to criticism of the mass information media, book printing and book distribution, printing facilities and the application of the economic approach in the spiritual area.

In conclusion, he expressed the confidence that the mass information media will prove to be on the level of the tasks set by the Central Committee and Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally, and will make their contribution to the enhancement and improvement of quality in all fields of social life and the further building of mature socialism in our country.

#### Statement by Lalyu Dimitrov

Sofia BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST in Bulgarian No 7, 1983 pp 3-8

[Text] This is our third meeting, at which we concentrate on problems related to the historical 12th BCP Congress. The first was held several months before the congress. It was dedicated to the forthcoming party congress and took place entirely in the spirit of the familiar note issued by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and approved at the November 1980 Central Committee plenum. The ideas and concepts expressed in the note prepared the party and the public for the new tasks and criteria which subsequently became the basis of the documents of the 12th congress. After the congress and our second meeting, over a 2-year period important events took place in the life of the party and the country. In a number of speeches, reports and statements Comrade Todor Zhivkov further developed the stipulations of the congress in new theoretical Marxist-Leninist formulations and practical approaches related to the next stage in building mature socialism in our country.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's works reflect a higher level of Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking by our party. In the unanimous view most completely synthesized in the special Politburo decision, they constitute the "further

achievements and convert them into a weapon for our creativity, both in terms of content and professional approach.

What, specifically, does this mean?

It means that some of the new theoretical developments in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's works have still not been mastered to the necessary extent, for which reason matters have not been sufficiently developed in the field of journalism. They are inconsistent with party thinking and acting on this matter.

This becomes even more important today, when the party and the country have begun preparations for the National Party Conference which will be discussing problems of production quality. Quality is one of the major problems developed in a new way in the works of Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Obviously, both in terms of quality and quantity and labor productivity we must master a number of matters before undertaking their examination. We must not repeat the declarative approach on such major problems. We must consider new developments very closely. This is a party requirement. It is entirely clear that the formulations and instructions of the Central Committee general secretary are the latest, most authoritative and competent word of the party. It must be used as a guideline in our information and propaganda activities in the future.

At this point I would like to touch on the question of quality not as a topic but as a feature and criterion of the content and the professional nature of our system.

The practical preparations for the National Party Conference must extend to our area as well, which must react to it with specific actions and manifestations of high-grade journalistic, publicistic, publishing and printing activities. I would like to start with the fact that in a number of aspects quality and quantity in our area are in a state of conflict.

With the exception of a few publications our press advanced substantially in terms of the size of editions. In terms of the number of titles and total editions our book publishing is quite well developed. Bulgarian radio is already broadcasting a total of 120 hours daily, which is an impressive volume. Our television's two channels are essentially meeting current requirements. Briefly, no substantial increase in the present overall quantitative indicators for the press, radio, television and book publishing will be necessary over the next few years. This would be difficult to achieve considering the current facilities. However, internal structural changes are necessary. They are necessary in the press, such as starting a new publication to replace one which is less needed; they are necessary in book publishing, in radio and in television. Improving the internal structure of the system, the subsystems and individual publications is a continuing process which will develop in accordance with the requirements of reality. It must be made clear, however, that until the RABOTNICHESKO DELO complex, the National Radio and Television Center and the paper and cellulose combine in Silistra have been built and the Georgi Dimitrov Printing Press has been expanded, as a rule all requests for increasing the overall quantitative indicators within the mass information



creative development and application of Marxist-Leninist theory in our country. This raises our party's theoretical thinking and its rich theoretical and practical-political arsenal of innovative concepts to a higher level."

To us, workers in the mass information and propaganda media, the new party formulations have double significance. On the one hand, they become the focal meaning of publications and transmissions. On the other, they are the yardstick, approach and criterion governing the quality of our work, the level of influence and height of professionalism and mastery in the field of journalistic creativity.

In both cases the main prerequisite for achieving our objectives is the extent and depth to which these stipulations have been mastered.

For this reason, although this may be slightly unusual, the first question I would like to formulate is that of our ability to read and master the party thinking and to understand it fully, to the level of well organized knowledge. This is the basic problem in our professional-creative work today and the main mark and criterion of the class and party nature of our journalism. This is because in the spirit of the familiar stipulation of the 12th congress today the class-party approach means complete harmony between our journalism and the party's policy and the requirement of maintaining close ties with life, high professionalism and publicistic mastery. No modern party journalism and publicism are possible without all three.

Quantitative indicators are not the most important in the fields of thinking and knowledge. All of us who are plunged in the stormy information current night and day must be familiar with, must be able to see the basic, that which shapes, which is the foundation of the assessment and characterization of contemporary Bulgarian journalism.

Before sharing frankly some considerations of a very important nature I must make the stipulation that no one has amended or has had any reason to amend the rating of the 12th party congress, which reemphasized the great role and merit of the press, radio, television and other information and propaganda media which have become part of the ordinary daily life of the people and irreplaceable sources for the satisfaction of the information and cultural needs of the broadest population strata. We can claim with full justification that the collectives of the best information and propaganda institutes and the creative Union of Bulgarian Journalists made substantial progress in the further improvement of their activities. New examples of contemporary socialist journalism were created in the press, radio and television in recent years. They are backed not by anonymous but well known masters of their work, who are highly valued by our public and, above all, the party.

However, even the highest level of journalistic expression of which we can be proud at this moment, must be developed and improved, not tomorrow but today. Journalism is an exceptionally dynamic area, a circumstance which keeps active the requirement of upgrading the criteria used in its evaluation. This leads us once again to the question of our ability to think in contemporary and creative terms as does the party, and our ability to master its creative



media system will be categorically rejected as unrealistic and, for a while, unnecessary. Our printing industry is getting increasingly short of breath. You well know that the increases granted in recent years were at the expense of quality, overtime, price increases of some publications and a variety of other machinations on the part of some managements of printing presses, editorial boards and publishing houses, which must be immediately stopped.

However, an increase in the quantitative indicators at the present stage is unacceptable from another point of view as well, as formulated in the party documents in terms of the requirement of attaining high-level professionalism and publicistic skill, i.e., high quality journalism. This today is the main thing. Any attention paid to the other range of problems means loss of time, energy and nerves. Some managers are still being talked into making unrealistic demands and some editorial collectives continue to focus on secondary matters, unable to see that instead of showing improvements their newspaper, periodical or program are either stagnating or worsening.

Clearly, the way of thinking and the approach must be restructured and all workers in the press, radio, television and book publishing must chart a course to comprehensive intensification and high quality journalism and publishing. The problems of structural changes are in the hands of the individual managements. Reserves in terms of paper and printing services must be sought within the limits of today's possibilities. They must be used more effectively through the elimination of unnecessary publications, sections, pages, materials, lines and words, in order to make place for other truly more needed topical and strong publications. This is the proper way to be followed from every point of view, above all from that of political and social effectiveness.

In turn, the printing industry (as far as the press and books are concerned) should radically reorganize its work and make incentives and all other means at its disposal fully consistent with the requirement of upgrading the quality of output, discipline and high labor productivity and available equipment. Everything must be focused in that direction, and an end be put to all types of doubtful methods used in promoting the incentive of collectives. Otherwise the problem of the quality of printing of books, newspapers and periodicals will not be resolved over the next 10 years or even by the beginning of the next century. As we know, the Bulgarian Printing DO [State Trust] was awarded the labor glory banner as the champion in the comprehensive fulfillment of the 1982 plan. This was a deserved award from the viewpoint of the stressed work of the collectives and the quantitative results achieved last year. However, the question of quality arises, which is substandard, and of the timely printing of the newspapers and periodicals, some of which come out up to 40 days late. Could this be reassuring to anyone, not to mention the trust's leadership? The award means a substantial boost. Obviously, the competition within our system must be related to other criteria, the principal one among which should be the quality and ideological efficiency, to which financial results must be related.

What are the contradictions between quantity and quality in the professional and creative areas?

Some of them are reviewed in the report. Let me add several other examples. Let us consider the condition of the internal information system. Quantitatively it remains on an unsatisfactory level in terms of variety of topics, focusing on the popularization of new trends and interesting facts and form. It has already been pointed out that the recording element rather than the presentation of the essence of the event or phenomenon predominates in the field of information. There has been a decline in the volume of information pertaining to essentially significant although seemingly minor daily questions of human relations and actions. A very important problem is that of the attitude toward the facts provided by the information system. Each single fact carries a certain charge -- political ethical, esthetic or other. Each fact serves one cause or another. We must penetrate into the nature of facts rather than use them as they present themselves, for at this point personal taste and subjectivism become apparent. In other words, facts must be selected and interpreted on the basis of a class-party standpoint. The same problems face commentaries, feature articles and theoretical articles, editorials and so-called editorial articles above all.

High-level professionalism and high quality journalism at the present stage represent an alloy of several components, for they are a complex and active phenomenon, a blend of convictions, knowledge and skills and of the political, moral and mental qualities of the creative journalists. Outstanding works are needed at the present stage. However, they cannot be written unless we begin to care for those who are capable and talented, unless we note and given them our support. It is easily understood that when an author has nothing to say and has no ideas of his own he writes long articles. Conversely, those who have a clear thought or idea will substantiate it briefly and equally clearly. For example, the long propaganda articles usually repeat familiar postulates. They are full of long familiar formulas and theses but are lifeless. They have no real life, perception and depth or new ideas on the topic developed through social practice. This is a major problem facing modern theoretical political journalism and a primary problem regarding its quality.

Another question related to the creative atmosphere and criteria in editorial boards arises when we mention the training of bright and strong authors in the field of journalism. Let me explain it with the following example: We highly value and have grounds to believe that Veselin Yosifov is one of the most outstanding and active Bulgarian publicists. For the past few years the name of Serafim Severnyak has been linked mainly to our political journalism and has drawn the attention of the readers. However, this should not prevent us from acknowledging and encouraging other outstanding personalities in our political journalism. In order not to err or trigger objections or be accused of partiality I shall not mention other names. There is nothing frightening in the fact that we may differ in our evaluations. What I meant was that some people may not like Veselin Yosifov or Serafim Severnyak. Our noted international affairs journalists may not like one-another. What matters is that the readers and listeners may like one, two five or even 10 among them. Consequently, our area must include more and different but outstanding creative workers. I hope that the authors I mentioned do not insist that all others write in their style before accepting them as highly skilled professionals. Greater tolerance must be displayed without this indicating any tolerance of mediocrity, lack of thought or inability to master and recreate (rather than

mechanically repeat) our party's new concepts and ideas. Furthermore, high-standard journalism is achieved not only through one's own works but by following all the other directions in our profession: the presentation of a newspaper, periodical or program, work with nonprofessional authors, etc. The problem of the quality of editorial work is particularly touchy. The classification and contraposition of journalists as writing and non-writing is essentially inaccurate, although the journalist should aspire to combine all basic components of his profession.

What we need today are outstanding creative workers in journalism. This is also due to the particular nature of the international situation. The dominant features which must define journalism should be strength, aggressiveness, truthfulness, flexibility and substantiation.

Every cloud has its silver lining: the so-called "Antonov case" gives us confidence in the strength of our journalism. Better than ever before, in recent years we were able to organize a strong counterpropaganda on a modern level. At this point we must note the personal contribution and style of Boyan Traykov. We gained experience from which we must as yet draw the necessary lessons. I may say as of now that the greatest power of the campaign related to this incident is that of the argument. Do we lack equally forceful arguments in the other areas in which our class enemy is trying to defeat us, and are we short of means with which to shift the battle to his own terrain and force him to refer to us? The opportunities in this respect are not small. The point is to find them.

In all likelihood all the problems pertaining to quality in our line of work will not be covered today. I would like, however, to raise two more questions which should not be ignored. Although they specifically pertain to individual sectors in our work from the professional viewpoint, they are of major national importance.

The first has to do with the quality of our television journalism.

Television is the strongest expression of the possibilities and methods of synthesizing ideology, science and all forms of art. This is a synthesis which is developing in varying extents in the other mass information media as well, for which reason its problems are both more difficult and more comprehensive. However, we have frequently emphasized of late that some problems brook no delay, the more so since their solution will not be arrived at in one fell swoop. This applies to the quality of economics and entertainment programs. In both areas it is a question of content and professional presentation. The television theater, the Studio X program and others must be improved decisively. These questions were discussed in greater detail during the meeting with the young journalists. All I would like to add is that there has been a justified increase in discontent caused by some broadcasts and that a slow reaction to it may lead to the other extreme, which would be equally undesirable. Instead of seeking new and active methods for reacting to justified remarks, some television and radio workers begin to wither and, taking the easy way out, imperceptibly to restructure some broadcasts making them more boring and repulsive to the young audience. Yet it is precisely this that should be avoided. Our television should be such as to attract the



strongest aspects of the nation's creative potential so that a Bulgarian socialist entertainment program may be developed. This is a difficult project but not if one would act boldly and vigorously.

The other question applies to book publishing. Our book publishing is well developed. However, our warehouses and bookstores have large stocks of books, substantially exceeding the necessary and admissible quantities. A close study of this situation must be made. Even without it, however, the major shortcomings which greatly lower book publishing efficiency are clear.

Many books are hard to place and remain unsold. Clearly, not all that is being published is necessary. It is being published, however, because standing behind many of the works are authors who have applied pressure to get published or else are backed by others. A great deal of subjectivism and voluntarism has developed in this area. If we were to consider all the books dealing with economics (published by seven publishing houses) we would see duplication, petty topics or topics of interest to a small circle of specialists, which should be either xeroxed or duplicated by other means if they make important scientific contributions.

The policy regarding topics and size of publications needs objective scientific planning, and any outside interference should be rejected. A planning procedure does exist. It may not be the best, but is nevertheless being violated. Not enough discipline and exigency exist in book publishing, which leads to a decline in the quality of book publishing and to inefficient distribution.

Why, for instance, is it necessary to publish so many collections of monographs, studies or statements made at symposiums and conferences?

Or else, let us consider the question of book reprinting. In a number of cases tremendous pressure is being applied to reissue books even before the current edition has sold out.

The question of reprinting should be formulated on a new basis: a book should be reissued not only after it has sold out but also if there exist sufficiently valid literary, political and social grounds for it to be needed. Bulgaria has many libraries, so that anyone interested in a given title could get hold of it. Books should be reprinted only when they are truly needed and socially significant and are of high literary and ideological value.

However, the worst situation is the one existing in the so-called departmental literature. A great deal of paper and funds are wasted on luxury editions of insignificant works because enterprises and departments have the necessary funds and the possibility of importing paper and even have gift editions printed abroad, without which we could live quite well at present. This is the result of misconceived considerations of prestige. It would be proper for each department to limit the number of copies sharply and for the Bulgarian Books and Printing DS to apply strict order in this matter.

Something else is equally true. Administrative pressure for greater earnings is being applied of late on the publishing houses. At this point we come

across a contradiction: the coercion to publish so-called "cash register books," which is frequently the reason for which translated books by Western authors of doubtful artistic, ideological and esthetic qualities show up in the bookstores. Its resolution is an important ideological task.

The main concern in the field of book publishing is to eliminate the anomalies in the present policy and tactics and to determine the procedure according to which the only works published would be on a high ideological, scientific and artistic level of proven social need. This would also apply to determining the expedient size of such editions.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov offered an original interpretation of the problem of contradictions under socialism and their prompt identification and solution. His approach includes several new features which lead, directly or indirectly, to considerable changes in our understanding and evaluation of critical publications at this stage.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov raised criticism and self-criticism to the level of a great instrument, a motive force and law without which the complex problems of our development cannot be resolved.

Are we able to criticize on the basis of contemporary positions?

This depends on several circumstances.

The first is our ability to penetrate into and define the main feature — the reasons for shortcomings and whether or not we limit ourselves merely to noting their consequences. This question substantially changes matters and demands of us to penetrate more deeply in the phenomena rather than to describe their surface, and to apply a comprehensive approach in the study of the reasons for shortcomings in our society.

Hence the second requirement, which is to eliminate petty topics in criticism. The editorial boards must emphasize the quality of works of criticism. In turn, this will naturally lead to reducing the number of critical articles. One of the reasons for petty topics is the large accumulation of various complaints, reports, etc. This flow should not be interrupted. Conversely, we must encourage it, for this is one of the strong ties with the audience. However, we must change our professional approach in its use, or to put it mildly, to improve it. The quantitative accumulation of such materials in the editorial mail could and should be used more efficiently for deeper investigations, which should result in the publication or transmission of materials of a problem nature rather than consumer complaints. Using the sociological approach, we should tap and sum up trends and phenomena of social interest as reflected in this flow.

The third problem deals with criticism. I would like to express at this point a few considerations based on the stipulation of adopting a comprehensive approach in determining the reasons for shortcomings. The inertial force which has developed among us is to blame managers in various positions for everything. They are summed up under the generic term of "chiefs," which has become synonymous with the negative character in our reality. Is this the truth?



Most emphatically, no! It would be hardly necessary to prove this to any kind of audience. It is only a general criticism, which is the easiest thing to do in our profession, that could nurture such erroneous concepts regarding the comprehensive detachment of managers, ranging from the brigade leader to the minister, managers who are bearing a heavy cross. I think that we could refer with full justification to some articles published in PRAVDA in recent months, which are models of specific and analytical approach instead of general formulations. I mention these publications precisely because they criticize senior managers, but with an approach which illuminates matters specifically, accurately and fully. These materials in PRAVDA are a true model of how to fight for the truth, with arguments and without engaging in sermons consisting of general declarations. Such is the true way which is essentially the same as the stipulations of our party on the role of criticism today.

I do not mean by this that criticism worthy of respect and support is not found in our own press. Some materials published in RABOTNICHESKO DELO, TRUD, ANTENI, STURSHEL and other newspapers as well as television and radio programs are successful attempts at raising criticism to modern standards. The point, however, has to do with views, with the tuning of minds on this matter and, therefore, with the approach. Some traditionally tolerated shortcomings indicate that we are still far from having reached this type of approach.

The authors of critical materials are not always competent to discuss their chosen topics. That is why they are unable to distinguish between the trends which advance or hold back our development and to separate the new from the old which must be criticized. Yesterday we may have encouraged some trends which we reject and restrain today while supporting others. What was new yesterday may be obsolete today or tomorrow. This becomes particularly clear against the background of the strategic course of comprehensive conversion from extensive to intensive development.

Matters become even more complicated in the case of specific individuals. Who represents the new, who engages in abuses and who takes a justified risk or makes a necessary experiment? This requires an attentive and comprehensive study. Unfortunately, the most common practice is to hear only one side of an argument and to avoid or be totally ignorant of the other. Lately justifiable complaints are being heard more frequently to the effect that critical materials are being published without knowing in advance all the arguments "for" and "against." It is a very unpleasant thing to write about cadres, who have devoted many years of their lives to dedicated and honest work, one-sidedly or inaccurately. Our criticism loses its power when the entire truth is not presented.

Two questions of principle arise.

The first is the following: Today we can no longer write about development shortcomings in general or repeat again and again familiar party stipulations embellished by verbal attempts at publicism or, as the saying goes, to be beating a dead horse.

The only thing this can achieve is to create a philistine compassion in some readers who are seeking a suitable way to resolve personal problems. Matters

today are different: Once the party has stated a truth we must fight for the party truth with the force of arguments, analysis and accurate interpretation of specific facts and phenomena. This, however, requires not only courage but a great deal of work, competence and skill. Only thus can we enhance even further the prestige of criticism in the press and trigger the type of reaction we need among the public and, if necessary, suitable party decisions. A specific and profound approach, competence and a clear position and the avoidance of hasty summations and hints are very important today. As we see, this is being done in the Soviet press without a great deal of noise, methodically, firmly, without boasting!

The second applies to regarding criticism in the mass information media as inseparable from professional self-criticism. The stipulation regarding criticism and self-criticism entirely applies to the workers in our field. A professional journalist cannot rise to the level of a contemporary understanding of criticism without a feeling for self-criticism. This is also a moral professional problem of prime significance. If you criticize you must put yourself in the shoes of the one you criticize, thus checking your own moral firmness. This protects us from the type of self-confidence which is of poor service to our profession and leads to conflicts alien to the socialist nature of our journalism. Erroneous criticism must not be allowed. However, if it has been made, it is better to refute it rather than to simply gloss over or ignore it. The question of the human and professional morality of our almost 7,000-strong army of journalists is very topical and important.

The formulation of this question is dictated by considerations of principle, but should also be considered a problem related to the further enhancement of the prestige of contemporary Bulgarian journalism. Anyone whose name has been tarnished has no moral grounds whatsoever to teach others how to live and work, standing on such a high national rostrum. Yet we know of cases of corruption, personal advantage seeking, abuse of the title of journalist, gross attempts at exerting pressure and blackmail, self-seeking, and suppression of criticism and initiative by some leading personalities in our system. Unfortunately, this does not apply to television alone.

We relate the question of morality in our journalism also to its ability to influence children and young people, i.e., to the strategic task which the 12th congress set to our information and propaganda system. Youth justifiably considers us the promoters of the party line and party policy. We cannot develop in the young a Marxist-Leninist outlook and a socialist consciousness or high esthetic and moral virtues if they mistrust us. The young mistrust people who say one thing and do another. In this respect we bear high responsibility to the future, to the fate of the nation.

Of late, senior official — party, social and state — have tried to bypass criticism and, in some cases, to reject it most groundlessly. Our party has opposed and, at the present stage, intends to oppose even more systematically such phenomena. Resolutions have been passed to this effect by the Politburo and the State Council. The attitude toward criticism on the part of the press is also a matter of party and state discipline, political consciousness and socialist morality. Unfortunately, periodical reports on critical materials in the mass information media submitted to the government and discussions and

resolutions on this subject have been insufficiently effective of late. Possibly, the practice of active intervention on the part of the most responsible institutions in our country will have to be intensified in matters of serious critical publications and adopted resolutions will have to be publicized and disseminated promptly. Constructive and truthful criticism, criticism which exposes the true reasons and true carriers of actual major shortcomings must be encouraged by all possible means.

Allow me to conclude my discussion on this question by recalling a thought expressed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the meeting which followed the theoretical conference on humor and satire of 2 April 1974: "If people begin to shrivel and murmur that this or that cannot be criticized, that this would be dangerous and that could be even more dangerous what will the result be? How come something cannot be criticized?! What matters is the positions from which such criticism is made and whose behalf is the criticism made? We have no use for two-edged criticism. I have already said before that we need purposeful, constructive and assertive criticism."

These are thoughts in support of what we said at the beginning concerning our ability to master the party's thinking and to convert it into action. Our tasks in terms of quality are the most difficult but also the most pressing. That is why today we emphasize the problems of professionalism and skill in our work.

It seems to me that if we accurately interpret and properly apply the familiar stipulation of the 12th party congress on the question of the class-party approach we could say unhesitatingly that the quality of Bulgarian journalism and book publishing is a basic feature and criterion of their class-party standard, for, as we can see, the problem of quality is raised to the rank of primary ideological, political and economic task facing our society. Quality is a party, a class policy. In this sense, the high or low quality of our work is also a mark of the high or low party mindedness of Bulgarian socialist journalism.

5003

CSO: 2200/125

OBJECTIVES OF MILITARY COURT SYSTEM OUTLINED

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 11, 5 Jun 83 pp 20-22

["Background" feature by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Military Courts in the GDR"]

[Text] On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the existence of the military court system in the GDR, an article appeared in MILITAERWESEN, published by the GDR defense ministry, which was to describe the "experiences with rehabilitation activities" of military courts and "the tasks to be fulfilled" by them. In the article, details out of the practice of military courts were published, about which the GDR media as a rule reports very little. Up until now, these courts were mentioned only when they dealt with espionage cases or when the defendants were members of the National People's Army (NVA) who had committed crimes while fleeing to the West.

The authors of the article titled "The Contribution of Military Courts to the Strengthening of the Socialist Judicial System" are two of the GDR's highest military jurists:

\*Maj Gen Dr Guenter Kalwert (SED), for the past 20 years chief of the military court headquarters in the GDR's Ministry of Justice;

\*Maj Gen Lothar Penndorf (SED), member of the GDR's Military Judicial Service since its inception, and chairman and vice president of the Supreme Court's Military Academy since 1977.

In their article, Kalwert and Penndorf emphasize that in the GDR, military courts are part of "the uniform court system," which is expressed through--among other things--the "equal participation by heads of the central military court organizations and the heads of high military courts in the governing bodies of the Supreme Court and the Minister of Justice."

According to the Military Justice rule from the year 1963, which was supplemented in 1974, military criminal cases are adjudicated by the GDR's Supreme Court which has provided a military council for this purpose (up until 1963, military criminal cases were adjudicated in regular courts, but not open to



the public). Military Supreme Courts and military courts have been formed according to the Supreme Court. Venue and jurisdiction of these courts are decided by the GDR Defense Ministry "under consideration of their military necessity." All military courts have jurisdiction not only in criminal cases against military personnel, but also against civilians accused of crimes against military security.

According to the article in MILITAERWESEN, the jurisdiction of military courts is focused primarily on two areas: (1) "the protection of military security of the GDR through fighting against criminal attacks from abroad, especially military espionage from the imperialist secret services; and (2) the support of commanders and political organizations through the continuous strengthening of military discipline and order, and the realization of socialist law and order through the prevention of, punishment for, and evaluation of criminal acts."

According to this, all "attacks from abroad" are lumped together under No. 1. It appears that all border violations committed by military personnel are also counted among them, even if they take place on GDR territory.

The fact that this is the custom became apparent from an interview with Alfred Leibner (SED), military attorney general, published recently in the NVA publication VOLKSARMEE, regarding the flight of a borderguard and his sentence by the military court. The paper supplied the following three headlines to the description of the case, in which the fleeing soldier mortally wounded another soldier: In the Interest of Security and the Protection of its Borderguards;" "Appropriate Reaction to Every Border Violation"; and "Appropriate Punishment for Every Attack on the GDR Border and on Members of the GDR Borderpatrol."

Leibner was also asked why the "fleeing criminal" had been given a life sentence by the military court, and why this criminal trial had been carried out "by our courts," "although the criminal is in the FRG."

The military attorney general answered that since the "crime was committed on GDR territory" and the "criminal himself is a GDR citizen, the deed is without a doubt subject to GDR jurisdiction." He said that "the GDR's point of view had been clearly documented with this judgment:

"1. The criminal code of the GDR applies to all crimes committed on GDR territory. The GDR's judicial sovereignty is indivisible.

2. No criminal, who leaves the GDR illegally after committing a crime, can escape criminal proceedings through the appropriate judicial organs of the GDR."

The second point of emphasis for military courts includes crimes and violations against discipline and order. In the opinion of the authors of the MILITAERWESEN article, it is especially important "to mobilize the strength of military collectives even more, in order to create an atmosphere in which violations, lack of discipline and sloppiness cannot exist."



This "great educational potential" also determines the judgments of military courts in the individual case, according to the words of the authors:

"With lesser crimes--and that is the majority--the judgment is such that it assures the full utilization of the educational potential of military collectives and military life. They continue to abide by Lenin's observation '...that the preventative meaning of the punishment does not lie in its severity, but rather in its inevitability.'"

This information about the work of GDR military courts was supplemented by another article in MILITAERWESEN by Lt Col M. Klose. In it, the author notes that a reduction in crime in the NVA had been noted for years, but that in spite of that "measures to prevent and to fight crime in the NVA would have to be improved." "We should make even better use of the realization that the reliable protection of socialist property depends to a high degree on effective control. In addition to effective education toward the protection of socialist property, greater efforts must be made to establish controls in such a way that no one can escape them."

Klose demands that every crime, as soon as it is discovered, must be reported immediately in accordance with the defense ministry's regulations regarding reporting and investigating crimes.

According to Klose: "Violations arising from a great variety of motives and occasions can be observed. They range from an underestimation of certain incidents due to a lack of political and military experience to the intentional covering up of relevant facts in order to avoid confrontations and consequences." This type of action prevents "a timely and effective government reaction to phenomena which have a more or less negative effect on military processes and combat readiness."

The author continued writing about trials which have to be thoroughly thought through and prepared for. He demands that main proceedings should be carried out primarily "before an expanded public in military settings," since they had proven to be "educationally especially effective."

Because, he writes, this way a "large circle of army personnel could be made to realize "that every crime is inevitably followed by the appropriate official reaction and that law and justice will prevail in every instance."

In this connection Klose also deals with other educational measures which could be achieved through a sentence. He urges "commanders and military collectives" to consider the following after a sentence is passed: "the sentenced soldier is to be educated through the sentence to abide by the socialist law and at the same time to fulfill basic social duties which include the strict observation of all military demands."

Even in the case of a prison sentence "the contact under military conditions between the sentenced man and his regiment and collective for the purpose of rehabilitating the criminal" is indispensable. Duties for commanders and superiors to achieve this end are laid down in the report and investigation regulations. They are "to guarantee that contact is maintained through

correspondence and visitation while the sentence is served. As investigations have shown, these duties and rights of superiors are not seldom neglected. This fact must be seen as an underestimation of the educational potential, no matter what the reasons for not exploiting these elements of socialist education."

The problem of reintegration after release is also "not always given the proper attention." And this even though the report and investigation regulations require that even before his release, talks with the condemned must take place in which his future deployment and problems related to that, as well as personal problems are to be discussed.

9328

CSO: 2300/349

REVISION OF TELEKI'S 'REVISIONARY' NATIONALITY POLICY

Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian Jun 83 pp 85-95

[Article by Pal Koteles: "Revision of the Revisionists; On Pal Teleki's Nationality Policies." For more on this subject see "Teleki Rehabilitation: Can the Truth be Said," by Lorant Tilkovszky, published in MAGYAR NEMZET 13 Jul 83 p 8 and translated in this issue of JPRS.]

[Text] "Hungarian intellectual life has finally eliminated from itself that curious view which, with a surprising metathesis, has substituted for the nationalism of oppression a nationalism which cries to the complaints of those suffering oppression, intermingling the concepts..." (Gyula Illyes: "Foreword, Not to just one Book")

"The attraction and richness of Ulysses can be attributed to the fact that the intention and the result do not entirely cover one another. Into the gap between the two floods the human life we know, which touches us, and we recognize that the exile belongs among us." (David Daiches: "Ulysses as Comedy")

Hungarian society felt profoundly the tragic crisis following the First World War, primarily the consequence of it that it could not carry its own revolution to victory. The spiritual trauma, growing to schizophrenia, was caused by the fact that Miklos Horthy, announcing a "National rebirth," was incapable of proving the national character of the counterrevolution. It was difficult to forget that the rear admiral had marched into Budapest at the head of his hundred some odd officers in a way that made the occupying Romanian army the vanguard. The Romanian army which, cooperating with the Czechs, paid with the overthrow of the Soviet Republic for the territories promised in the summer of 1918 and the beginning of 1919.

The politicians organizing the intervention hardly doubted that the promises made earlier would be finally sanctified at Trianon! They had to turn their energies only to seeing whether they might get more territory in addition to what was promised. Their hopes were not mere dreams because by 1920 the much emphasized principle of self-determination had finally become a dead weight. The great powers aiding the acquisitive desires gave their blessing to every territorial demand. With the cutting off of two thirds of the country even Hungarian ethnic blocks fell victim

to the decree. This cynical negation of the right of self-determination gave birth later to the Hungarian revisionist aspirations. Revision became one of the most important political credos of the counter-revolutionary regime struggling with political and economic failure. With this they tried to make people forget what could hardly be forgotten, that the regime owed its existence to those who dictated the imperialist peace at Trianon. When Horthy and his people enticed the country into the stupor of "Return everything!" they were starting a campaign not only for the return of the territories but also to win the trust of the populace. In the midst of complete political isolation and "economic impotence" they filled the hungry mouths with slogans. The suffering country was under the sway of "A truncated Hungary is not a country--a whole Hungary is heaven."

For a long time politics claimed that there remained only one cure for the troubles--the realization of the revisionist program based on historical right. A sober political analysis was postponed. With the passage of time only a few undertook an objective disclosure of the past and there were even fewer who felt the necessity of learning the lessons. It is true that the accounting was not easy, for in 1918-1919 the 1000-year-old European statehood of the Hungarians collapsed like a house of cards. There was a moment when it was doubtful whether a foot of land could be saved which would have the name "Hungary." Under such circumstances the constant repetition that "there will be a Hungarian resurrection" did not at all appear to be the most timely political task, for the running after a will-of-the-wisp suggested that the earlier picture of the Carpathian Basin could be restored unchanged.

In this political stupor only a few of the leading politicians analyzed the situation with the necessary coolness. Even fewer drew from the analysis the obvious consequences. Many lost their sense of reality and a part of society was infected with dreams for the "good old days." The institutionalized counter-revolution--following its internal logic--planned the future only in words, in reality its ideal in every respect was the past, the restoration.

Pal Teleki (1879-1941) was among the few who did away with their illusions after a long struggle. Earlier even he had thought that the historical Hungary could be reorganized on a federalist foundation on the basis of the Saint Stephen Christian principles proposed in "Exhortations," and he revised this conception. After a while, taking account of the historical lessons, and with a basic awareness of the international relationships, he judged the appeal to thousand-year-old rights to be a political anachronism. A large role was played in his study and in the development of his ideas by the fact that he tried to understand and feel the situation of the nationalities in Hungary prior to Trianon and he planned to remedy the wrongs suffered by the Hungarians without wronging the nationalities. Many considered the "spiritual orientation" of the moralist Teleki to be apolitical and the believers in total revision held it to be harmful from the viewpoint of the Hungarians. But Teleki was unshakable and from the second half of the 1930's he desired a settlement



on ethnic principles which would have made possible for "an ever smaller number of individuals of a people constituting a state to live within the borders of another state" on the basis of reciprocity.

The nationality policy conception of Teleki was rooted in the basic principle of a new settlement. He modified his minorities policy with his revisionist ideas, making the one the function of the other. This mutual modification of revisionist aspirations and nationality policy ideas has not been given sufficient attention by either historiography or political history. Those who have studied it tangentially have done so only from the viewpoint of current politics and the result was preconceived. But the liberal nationalities policy of Pal Teleki is one of the noteworthy ideals of Hungarian political thinking. An analysis of the nationalities policy conception of Teleki has not been made, despite the two books of Lorant Tilkovszky ("The Legend of Pal Teleki and Reality" and "Revision and Nationalities Policy in Hungary") and the comprehensive work of Gyula Juhasz ("Foreign Policy of Teleki Government").

Concerning the cause of this silence one might say summarily that according to historians, writers and publicists "the time has not come" from an analysis, for the appearance of works which might be interpreted as a "rehabilitation."

Among other things the misgivings are caused by the fact that on 19 April 1920 Pal Teleki assumed the foreign ministry in the Simonyi-Semadam government and for 9 months, from July, he was head of the government, and thus the counterrevolutionary consolidation attaches to his name. The antipathy is also justified by the fact that earlier Teleki took part in the work of the Vienna Anti-Bolshevist Comite.

It may also be a cause of the silence of the historians that in 1918-1919, as president of the League to Defend the Territory, he tried to make international public opinion aware that an unjust peace treaty was going to be forced on Hungary and then, from 1927, as the creator of the Hungarian Revision League, he became the "father of revision."

The antipathy is preserved--understandably--by the fact that one can link to his name the "numerus clauses" for university admissions (Law XXV, 1920) which is interpreted in general as the prototype of the Jewish laws. An even darker shadow is cast on the career of the moralist Teleki by the fact that under his premiership the parliament passed LAW IV, 1939, submitted earlier, the so-called "second Jewish law" which limited the "public life and economic encroachment of the Jews."

Antipathy to the theme is certainly increased by the fact that Teleki's political terminology is very far from the usage of today. The "Saint Stephen idea," the education of the nation or "social coexistence" mean something different to us than they meant under the social conditions of the 1930's and 1940's. So to understand the thought system of Teleki it is necessary to couple to his usage those social phenomena represented by these expressions in the 1930's.

Teleki research has difficulty freeing itself from the tabu cage of history despite the fact that in the ruling circles of the Horthy era he--together with Istvan Bethlen and Ferenc Keresztes-Fischer--was one of the most consistent representatives of anti-German or anti-Hitler behavior. It was he who announced the principle of "armed neutrality" with the intention of neutralizing German influence. Nor did he desire German help in remedying the wounds suffered by Hungary at Trianon. Gyula Juhasz put it tellingly when he said that "in principle Teleki saw only one possibility, an independent Hungarian solution, without the active participation of Germany."

But the independent Hungarian solution did not mean simply a revision on ethnic principles. Although this seemed realistic politically at the time, this was not the essence of his idea. Teleki, acquiring international experience in his study of the nationalities question, distanced himself step by step from the old Hungarian nationalities policy which had failed, seeking to develop a new principle, which also aimed at changing social thinking, which wanted to ensure the equal rights of citizens not only with the severity of the laws. Teleki considered it important that every member of society be imbued with understanding for one another and mutual respect, independent of what language he spoke, what his religion or mother tongue were. "The law does not begin when it is passed," he said, "but rather in how it is carried out."

Teleki judged the nationalities problem to be a changing reality and only in its historical development did he consider it possible to understand the phenomena connected with it and to work out the tasks in connection with it. According to him the harmonic cooperation which had more or less developed among the small communities--religious, linguistic and other--in the middle ages could serve as a lesson for the 20th century too. Arguing from these experiences he felt that it was a moral-political obligation of every age to be concerned with minority groups. He proposed that every historical epoch offered the possibility for the undisturbed cooperation of various ethnic groups, it was only necessary to try to recognize the possibilities.

In developing his nationalities policy idea and in recognizing the changing nature of the nationalities problem Teleki took seriously the recognition that with the collapse of the Hungary of the middle ages, breaking the country into pieces, the historical role of the ethnic groups in Hungary had changed also; they would increasingly play a role in the life of the country as independent power factors. Alien communities moving into the ruined villages and towns--by invitation or with permission--did not represent the same problem as before the Turkish disaster. After the 17th and 18th centuries they did not exist as islands of alien peoples but rather they had grown into communities with alien tongues which affected each other or at least touched on one another, which slowly created religious institutional systems cultivating and passing on their own cultures and inspiring ethnic awareness.

As an internationally known and respected expert on the nationalities question Teleki was aware not only of the contemporary ethnic relationships but also of the history of the national minorities. When he prepared a balance of the history of the Hungarian nationalities policy he too felt that the more recent nationalist passions, but especially those of the 19th century, had harmed almost irremediably not only the political relationships of our geographic area but also the emotional world of the coexisting peoples. Naturally the hatred did not decrease with the adjustment of the state borders and power relationships of the eastern central European area after the First World War. Today we know that the entire system of Hungarian political conditioning had to be revised before there could be an unprejudiced study the final conclusion of which is that the situation in the Carpathian Basin was unjust both before and after Trianon. The change of state boundaries only changed the sign. But politically the situation in the area was not stabilized. What was offensive and finally unacceptable from the Romanian, Slovak or South Slav viewpoint earlier became an injustice according to Hungarian interests after the Trianon peace treaty. For moral and political reasons Teleki did not accept this state of affairs as final and with a large scientific apparatus he set to preparing an equitable settlement and to working out a just nationalities policy. To this end he organized the Sociographic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the State Sciences Institute of the Hungarian Statistics Society. With the most modern methods of the 1920's and 1930's these two institutes tried to study the relationships of "the state and social institutions and economic and cultural life of our homeland and of the surrounding countries." In one decade the notes collected and organized under Teleki's personal direction grew to almost one million. This great amount of material provided not only a scientific foundation for the arguments of revision, in a paradoxical manner this same store of data contributed in a crucial way to Teleki's finally changing his own revisionist concept. In the second half of the 1930's he no longer sought the resurrection of "integral Hungary." He wrote: "We also must make sacrifices in the reconstruction of Europe, and we will have to give up things, even territory, which we never gave up before. Our political reason, that of an old political nation, tells us this. In this way we want to serve the peace, stability and consolidation of Europe." As a precondition for peace, security and equity he held that "an ever smaller number of individuals of a people constituting a state should live within the borders of another state." He had to fight a two-front struggle for the realization of this principle on the basis of reciprocity because while he was considered an extreme revisionist abroad here at home he was accused of betraying Hungarian interests by those who believed in total revision, the restoration of Saint Stephen's Hungary. Teleki was not much concerned with the fault finders at home or abroad. When challenged he answered that while he had become an exponent of a revision on ethnic principles he was working feverishly on the development of a new Hungarian nationalities policy. He began to formulate the outlines of a nationalities policy which would form social public thinking as well, which would offer the minorities not only a quiet place to live in the country but also a home which would maintain, cultivate and pass on their traditions, customs and--on the basis

of free choice--primarily their mother tongue. He wanted to prove to the Hungarians and to Europe alike that Hungary would be no longer the site of any sort of forced assimilation attempt, that it intended to guarantee the present and future of its nationalities.

His nationalities policy ideas began to take final form when, as chairman of the Public Education Council (1936-1937), he had crucial influence on the development of education. His measures fundamentally affecting the existence of the nationalities sprouted at this time. But the ripening of the concept came when he was minister of religion and public education (1938) and they were put into practice during his second premiership (1939-1941).

Although the internal political conditions were extremely contradictory and the world situation increasingly inflammable, Teleki never degraded the nationalities question to second place. Indeed, he put a reassuring solution among the most important problems in the last 5 years of his life.

"In my introductory speech on 22 February 1939," we can read in the comprehensive publication titled "Hungarian Nationalities Policy", "I said that I myself had dealt much with the question of the nationalities, or as they are called internationally and I will use this word now, with the question of the minorities. I have dealt with it as a worker in human geography within and beyond the borders of the country, on my political, foreign missions, far from the borders of Hungary, dealt with the nature, character and differences of peoples, with the relationship of men and Earth to one another. I say that there is no question, within the country or outside it, and the nationalities question is such a question, which can be solved uniformly and in the same way everywhere and in every respect." The goal which Teleki felt could be realized was that in Hungary "everyone should be a uniform, equal brother in the homeland and, in the light of present development, we will give the minority suitable rights and a unique right of self-determination... We must work this out wisely today; it is not a continuation of 20th century imperialistic democracy."

What did Teleki mean by "imperialistic democracy"? Obviously that political sterility which characterized the bankrupt's estate of the Hungarian nationalities policy of the historical epoch which closed with the two revolutions. During his trip to America in 1922 he analyzed for the first time the causes of this political failure. He said, without passion and in serious self-examination, that one of the chief causes of the political failure was the "decadence of the old political sense," the decline of independent, creative political thinking. He held it to be a serious error that in solving the nationalities question we adapted to the European model and custom. He said that we neglected an analysis of the local peculiarities and, isolating the question from reality, tried to approach and solve it on the theoretical plane alone. He spoke scathingly of the "social insensitivity of public administration," of the indifference toward social problems and tensions, which affected



disastrously society as a whole but which in some cases affected the nationalities and some groups of them more seriously than in general. He considered it tragic that in general the officials working in areas inhabited by the nationalities or with mixed populations spoke only Hungarian, that unacceptably few knew the language of the nationalities. Handling affairs with the aid of the interpreter system frequently led to injustices. The officials did not understand and, primarily, they did not feel the problems of those turning to them. For this reason the world's opinion of us was not exactly flattering. "The justly reproach us," Teleki said, "that we have not carried out the good laws and naturally they case up to us those bad laws which we have passed although we do not apply them."

He considered it a serious omission that the contemporary governments did not concern themselves with the foreign propaganda directed against the country. He noted, not without cause, that measures passed out of social insensitivity or the neglect of certain measures very frequently appeared to be anti-nationality.

In this severe self-examination was rooted the social policy conception which developed later, which became known by the name "the new Hungarian nationalities policy." The social aspect must be emphasized, because it was Teleki's chief desire that this policy should not get stuck at the level of the law but should become a social task, the personal cause of every citizen. He felt: "There is much to do, not simply in legislation alone, because by itself this is worth nothing in the world, this is only a framework; there is much to be done in souls, in having people get used to one another, in producing love and primarily mutual respect."

But Teleki's demand for mutuality soon ran into an obstacle the overcoming of which required not only wisdom but--amidst the successes of German aggression--political courage. What happened was that in 1939, when he assumed the premiership, the Third Reich began intolerantly to exploit in the interest of its own goals those elements of the Volks Deutsche deceived by the Nazi success. Several eastern European states had already given collective rights to the Volksbund which made it virtually a state within a state. At German instigation in Hungary also there was an attempt to put the Volksbund under special jurisdiction. On 4 June 1940 two Arrow Cross representatives--Kalman Hubay and Pal Vago--presented parliament with a draft nationalities law which would have exempted domestic Germans from supervision by the Hungarian state. The proposal enraged Teleki and, since it violated Hungarian sovereignty, it was taken from the agenda on 11 June at the urging of the premier, with the argument that the draft "attacked the Hungarian state in its foundations," and therefore it never came up for debate. In his work titled "Revision and Nationalities Policy" Llrant Tilkovszky writes, concerning this stand by Teleki, which aroused an international response, that the premier used "various maneuvers" and "not without effect" against the stooges of Hitlerism in Hungary. But the situation was very difficult. The fact that the "folk group rights" of the German minority had been realized in Romania since 1938 and that this was taken as a basis for the entire

nationalities policy of the Slovak puppet state in the spring of 1939 made it possible for the German reich to increase its pressure through them. So while Teleki "proposed with great internal conviction a tolerant policy ensuring the right of self-government of the nationalities" he found himself faced with ever greater resistance, not only from the political right but also from the German and Slovak nationalities. But Pal Teleki could not be turned from the path of realizing the new Hungarian nationalities policy by the right wing nationalist Hungarian opposition, nor by the internal German and Slovak intrigues, nor even by increasing pressure from Berlin. He stuck by his ideas and as premier he effectively demanded, from 1939, that social conditions be created for the nationalities amidst which the law would not miss its goal of permitting the national minorities to preserve their mother tongue and the customs of their ancestors and, indeed, pass them on to their descendants. He goaded society as a whole to accept the idea that it must be made possible in every way for the minorities to enjoy "the most perfect legal and actual equality in every aspect of life." He did not consider the laws sufficient to guarantee legal equality. He regarded the "functioning of moral factors" to be the essence of "every action." "For this reason society must be educated to judge in the most correct way the so-called nationalities question, to have the nationalities act as mediators among each other, to understand and feel the nationalities problem--and this is one of the most important tasks--with every tool of press, radio, associations and public education in general." He desired a public spirit which would show suitable sensitivity to the problems of others too. He wanted to make society understand and accept that education in the mother tongue was the most important guarantee of the survival of a nationality. Its absence would recreate the bad public feeling of the nationalities and put at risk their loyalty as citizens.

I am a society educated in the spirit of mutual understanding he demanded of the authorities that they work in such a way that "the nationalities can develop their culture freely, preserve and cultivate their separate national character--their ethnic character, to use the modern word." "But this is not simply a matter of giving permission," he warned. "We should encourage it just as we encourage Hungarian folk songs, Hungarian music, the revival of old Hungarian customs, etc. for the Hungarians."

And he wanted even more. He said that "we could profit much from visiting and encouraging each other's programs and celebrations."

He felt that an equitable and successful solution to the nationalities question could be found only by a common social effort. For this reason he directed the authorities to maintain the cultural and other institutions of the nationalities. He wanted the state "to support this development in every way."

Teleki could not emphasize enough how lastingly the quality of social public feeling was determined by the mutual respect of ethnic groups living side by side. "I would like to emphasize," he said, "that the free exercise of every cultural activity, including film and theater

production, must be authorized. But we must be careful that the film or play does not hurt the nationality or the nationality feeling of a single person." As he tried methodically to form a tolerant way to thinking embracing society as a whole he did not forget that to a crucial degree the state of the public feeling of the nationalities depends on whether the students can go to their own nationality schools or whether they are forced to study exclusively the language of the state. He urged the spread of nationality rights with legislation and directives, assuming that education in the mother tongue is one of the most important elements of an honorable nationalities policy. If this is lacking then the future of the nationality becomes doubtful too. Every limitation means the gradual or intolerant atrophy of national existence, ultimately its assimilation.

The speech which he gave on 14 June 1938 as minister of religion and public education was an important milestone in Hungarian political thinking. At that time he already precisely defined the inalienable right of the nationalities to education in the mother tongue as apart of his general conception of education. "I affirm," he said, "that every one has an indisputable right to cultivate his own mother tongue, his own traditions and the customs of his ancestors and the Hungarian state, like every other state, has the obligation to support its citizens with a different mother tongue in this aspiration, to make possible and indeed to encourage the teaching of knowledge in the mother tongue." Not quite one year later, in 1939, in the Easter issue of the newspaper FUGGETLENSÉG, he put forward his tolerant nationalities policy before the largest public and in a speech on 2 June he said that education in the mother tongue could not be limited to primary instruction. "Teaching in the mother tongue must be encouraged not only in elementary schools but also in the civil and commercial schools and in the secondary schools."

The nationalist opponents of mother tongue education for the nationalities hotly protested against Teleki's idea. They felt that they must pay, with revenge against nationalities in Hungary, for the illegalities committed against Hungarian nationalities by the countries of the Little Entente.

Teleki dealt with this reprisal idea in a speech given in Kosice on 14 March 1940. He condemned the illegal procedures of despotic officials and he returned to the question on 13 June: "In my speech in Kosice I said how we will take a stand against it wherever the choice of school is not voluntary. I said there in Kosice that I had heard complaints, not only from there, the Kosice region, but from other places as well. If I hear again, as I have heard in a couple of cases, that the instructors in the military youth organization, and others, are collecting signatures in the interest of establishing a Hungarian school I will be forced, and the minister of culture will be forced, to throw every request in the wastebasket, because such requests do not show the wish of the people. I felt it necessary to say this in Kosice, in a nationalities area, but I also considered it necessary to hear something different from there..."

Teleki believed almost obsessively that the capacity for change existed in society, that one had only to disperse the bad passions, the suspicion toward one another. "It is necessary for all of us to aid and guide society toward peaceful coexistence, seeking what binds us together and not seeking or reproaching one another for what divides us. This cannot be done with institutions but only by educating society to do it..." Teleki became convinced that the minorities could deliberately strive to preserve their culture, develop and hand on their traditions, only in an atmosphere of trust. If a political and social atmosphere free of fear was lacking the law was nothing more than a one-legged giant. In a social atmosphere of simultaneous permission and impossibility a feeling of oppression is reborn, which could prompt individuals or even entire nationality groups to temporarily hide their unique characteristics.

Teleki stuck to a liberal political practice based on a principle of voluntariness. He said several times that "everyone has the right to cultivate and pass on to his children his mother tongue and the customs of his parents and ancestors, but he has the same right," we can read in "Hungarian Nationality Policy," "to change his nationality and customs..." He stuck to the principle of voluntariness to the end. He rejected the spreading practice of Hungarianizing one's name. "I was never a friend of this movement, because Hungarianizing your name in itself means nothing. It does not express feelings. It is pyrotechnics, nothing more."

Teleki knew very well that there were innumerable abuses in connection with language instruction and other nationality rights, that the intent was being realized only in a mangled way. In the tangle of revenge and fear even honorable intentions frequently got reversed. One could find the paradoxical situation that many public officials were frustrating the personal measures of the head of government. At the same time one cannot be silent about the fact that even among the nationalities there were many who did not support Teleki and the government but rather supported the carping of the local little kings. "A short time ago," Teleki said in Parliament on 2 July 1940, "I received a compilation from my fellow representatives about abuses which have occurred in the treatment of the nationalities. I have established from this compilation that in one third of the cases the brutal treatment of the nationality in question was committed by state officials who belong to the same nationality."

In connection with the matter he also pointed out that the earlier bad treatment of the nationalities could not be laid to the Hungarians alone because at all times there were many non-Hungarians in the government, politicians and public officials belonging to various nationalities. One should not be silent about their responsibility, without thereby minimizing the sins of the Hungarian learning stratum. "If there were errors in the past," he said, "these are not to be ascribed exclusively to the account of the Hungarians, let us say the pure blooded Hungarians. From 1867 to 1940 362 ministers have sat in these chairs. Of these 123 were not of Hungarian origin. In this chair in which I sit," he said before the audience in the Parliament, "ten of the 30 prime ministers were not of



Hungarian origin. I could list the other ministries too. All these gentlemen participated in the administration of the Hungarian state, participated in the highest positions, and probably if I were to try to study it I would come up with the same thing in the area of the lower positions also."

It will do no harm to quote a statement as proof of how consistently the moralist Teleki tried to create conditions for real equality. He was referring to the discriminatory application of Law III, 1921. "It must be admitted that in such (libel) cases we are not measuring with an even measure. If someone libels the national honor of a Hungarian it is regarded as an insult against the nation in accordance with Law III, 1921, and it is punished; but if someone libels the ethnic feeling of a person of a non-Hungarian nationality he commits only libel in the sense of the existing laws. There must be here a new classification, corresponding to equity and Hungarian restraint and sense of proportion. The minister of justice is dealing with this already, that in such cases the classification should be more severe than libel and the punishment should be more severe accordingly, if someone is offended in his nationality feeling."

There is also an aspect of Teleki's nationalities policy which touches on the everyday existence of the majority nation. And this raises his concept above the eastern central European practice of all times. Teleki was not satisfied with ensuring free use of the mother tongue by the nationalities, he made it obligatory to teach the mother tongue of the minorities in the Hungarian schools too. With the exception of Finland, Yugoslavia and Switzerland there is hardly an example in the world where the majority are obliged to study the language of a nationality. But Teleki's education law prescribed that the language of the minorities should be taught in the Hungarian language secondary schools in areas with mixed populations, the Romanian, Slovak and South Slav languages. There is a great deal of data in connection with this--instructions for school district directors, class journals, school certificates. But let us be satisfied with one paragraph from Lorant Tilkovszky's book titled "Revision and Nationalities Policy in Hungary," which describes the situation after the return of Northern Transylvania. "The Romanian language was taught as an obligatory subject in the Hungarian secondary schools in Transylvania, although there were opponents to this who saw in it a weakness giving the lie to 'Hungarian superiority' and a senseless descent to the level of a lower culture in place of a higher culture which could be approached via the world languages. But Istvan Bethlen pointed out that 'we could not administer Transylvania' without Romanian language knowledge. Teleki shared Bethlen's opinion in full measure, adding that he would teach Romanina to the Hungarian children even in the upper grades of elementary school."

There was another extraordinary measure taken by Teleki, the introduction of a language examination. This language test had no resemblance to the measures afflicting Hungarian public employees in the successor states. Just the contrary, Teleki ordered a language test for those Hungarian officials appointed to nationality or mixed population parts of the country, ordered them to study the language of the minorities.

He also prescribed language tests for the courts of first instance and in other institutions. "We must carry through the dismantling of the so-called interpreter system in the lower courts. In practice this had been done already for most. I have spoken about this question in another connection, recalling my experience as a chief magistrate when I felt the difference between my own measures, taken without an interpreter, and those which my colleagues took with the help of interpreters," Teleki noted. "Judges who do not know the language of the nationalities, and the officials of other authorities, fall under this same judgment."

What sort of judgment? Teleki himself answered the question: "The minister of internal affairs has ordered already that hereafter officials working in areas with mixed populations or in areas with a purely nationality population must take a language examination and they will be employed only after taking the test. For officials already employed it has been prescribed that they must learn the language of the minority, if they do not know it, by a specified time. Supervision of these provisions will take place through the regular hierarchy of public administration in smaller part but in larger part by means of the so-called flying committees."

Even at the time of the collapse of historical Hungary Teleki hoped that a time would come when the Saint Stephen state would again be a reality. But as time passed political reality scaled down his desires. An analysis of the relationships prompted Teleki to revise his own conception and to judge that only a settlement on ethnic principles could serve stability and the peace of Europe; all of which went beyond this could plant the seeds of a new conflict. In his view such a settlement could be accepted only as a first step toward reconciliation, because if this was not followed by a new nationalities policy, wiser and more humane than the old one, well serving the Hungarians and the minority ethnic groups, then discord and ill will would arise again in the Carpathian Basin.

Teleki's conception and his "new Hungarian nationalities policy" did not permeate the Hungarian society of the 1930's to the desired degree. A part of the population was inclined toward understanding and rejected the incitement of the extreme right wing. Teleki tried to put his new nationalities policy into practice amidst aroused passions, grievances piling on one another in time and space and the relationships of nationalist incitement. The social-political situation of the time did not favor this morally motivated practice. According to the game rules of the revanche spirit many Hungarians presented a bill for the indignities suffered in the Little Entente states while some nationality groups prepared for a new accounting with no little passion. If Teleki had been a classical politician (he was not), he would have come to the conclusion that he must yield to the majority "for the time being" and would have postponed the implementation of his nationalities policy to a more suitable time. But Teleki's decisions were determined not by tactical consideration but rather primarily by moral ones. Miklos Lacko recognized precisely this peculiarity of Teleki's conception. In his study titled "The Development

of Hungarian Political-Ideological Trends in the 1930's" he writes that his own contemporaries and ideological colleagues felt of Teleki that "he was not politically inclined" and most of them identified him with his tragic predecessors Laszlo Teleki and Istvan Szechenyi. "Teleki urged a 'modern, Christian attitude,' 'education of the nation,' 'a science in the service of the nation,' geopolitics, social politics and regional and ethnic research." At the same time "a vital element was support for social organization... and he proposed an ethos of puritanical work for the nation."

However difficult the internal political relationships and however unresolved the foreign political ones Teleki felt no moral exemption permitting postponement of the nationalities question. It is characteristic of his behavior that while he tried to make the offenses affecting the Hungarians a "world cause" he simultaneously adopted a nationalities policy practice which remained an example to be followed and which could be followed by the region and this effort, independent of the temporary nature of the achievements, was not in vain. It is true that he felt with increasing bitterness that his best comrades sided with him only for tactical reasons. Balint Homan noted that on 28 March 1941, in the Council of Ministers, Teleki reported his intention to resign. "Among the reasons for his resignation," Homan writes, "he gave special emphasis to the fact that the government and administrative organs did not understand his policies, not least of all emphasizing the constant misinterpretation and sabotage of his nationalities policy measures of fundamental importance from the viewpoint of upholding the regional agreements."

At the time they convinced him to remain, but in a little time he finally departed--not only from the premiership.

Teleki committed suicide at a time when the nation had greatest need of his moral strength. He felt that with his suicide he "might wash away the shame" which fell on the honor of Hungary when, despite the treaty of eternal friendship with Yugoslavia, the Hungarian general staff, bypassing him, presented the government with a fait accompli and drew the country into the campaign against Yugoslavia.

The moralist Teleki could not bear this shame. "Teleki preferred to kill himself," Churchill emphasized in the English Lower House, "rather than participate in this dishonorable act," he said amidst stormy applause of the representatives. And referring to the coming peace negotiations he said: "We must leave an empty chair at the table for Count Pal Teleki. The empty chair will tell those present that the Hungarian nation had a prime minister who sacrificed himself for the justice for which we too are fighting."

Due to Churchill's brief memory that certain chair was not empty in the fatal days; rather, the power relationships had developed in such a way that there was no longer any need to take account of Teleki's moral gesture. Even less to remember amidst what pains he came to re-evaluation

of his revisionist ideas--and as a consequence of his nationalities policy--which expressed not only Hungarian interests but also the interests of the peoples of the Carpathian Basin. For when he announced, and put into educational practice, that here at home the majority Hungarians should study the languages of the national minorities living with them in the region he gave an example which we can think of even today with satisfaction. He warned and educated the majority to respect the minority not only in words, but to strive to see that the national cultures should live with one another in an ever more effective mutuality.

In many respects the "moralist" Teleki reckoned with reality better than his opponents, who cast it up to him that he did not sufficiently understand realities. He weighed the power relationships very well, but at the same time he knew that man is not only a rational being, that his instinctual world can be formed and should be formed just as much as more tangible vital relationships. And it is not at all a matter of indifference how this instinctual world reacts in coexistence--aggressively or with understanding, indeed, with friendship. Teleki regarded the peace and stability of Europe as more than a function of foreign policy questions or power relationships. It was something more, a complex system of psychological relationships in which the role of nationalities policy is much greater than some believed, or believe.

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TELEKI REHABILITATION: CAN THE TRUTH BE SAID

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 13 Jul 83 p 8

[Article by Lorant Tilkovszky: "Shaded Criticism or Rehabilitation."  
For more on the subject of Hungary's inter-war nationality policies see  
"Revision of Teleki's 'Revisionary' Nationality Policy" by Pal Koteles  
translated in this issue of JPRS]

[Text] In the 1960's our historical writings drew a picture of Teleki which was based on far-reaching scientific research work designed to replace the misconceptions and patterns which had developed as a consequence of earlier insufficient information and biases of various portent. No other statesman of the counter revolutionary regime has received such extensive treatment in our historical literature or--we may state--such a discriminating portrayal, amply exploiting the available sources and making Teleki himself richly articulate as well as his contemporaries who recalled him. In an atmosphere that was favorably altered also for historical research, the researchers undertook with great enthusiasm this test of their professional skills which the revealing of the life, ideas and deeds of this important historical personality and a faithful presentation of reality represented for them.

By no means was everyone satisfied with the Teleki picture--discriminatingly critical--which developed with the above-mentioned works. They would like a more positive picture, in fact, an exemplary one in East Central European dimensions, a heritage and tradition which inwardly and outwardly alike could strengthen the nation. But the question is whether the historical facts will permit this kind of portrayal. Previous efforts like this have remained in the realm of pure fantasy, and the knotted effort to make of the Teleki tragedy an epic of resistance and a battle for independence against the Germans could only have compromised our real national interests. Good intentions--and it would be improper to have any doubts about this, which we do not desire--can lead sometimes to very bad courses of action.

Question of Responsibility

How do we stand in this respect with Pal Koteles' article which is favorably different in level but has a similar trend, and which appeared in the June issue of MOZGO VILAG? This article, too, expresses dissatisfaction with those works which formed the present Teleki picture of our historical

literature. He believes that current political viewpoints played a role in the creation of the Teleki picture, and these determined a priori the results. According to the author's opinion, which is not unique, this picture requires correction although the historians are not saying anything and continue to postpone the task. "In summary, one might say about this delay that according to the historians, writers, and political writers 'the time has not yet come' for such a rendering of accounts and for the appearance of works which might be interpreted as a 'rehabilitation'"--he wrote in the article. He mentions a number of particulars such as Teleki's links to the counter-revolutionary system, his revisionist policies, and his position on the Jewish question which he sees as the cause of the historians' "anxiety," "antipathy," and "aversion" to the Teleki "rehabilitation." He does not specifically bring up Teleki's relationship to the workers' movement, his anti-Sovietism, and other "rehabilitation" difficulties, but it can obviously be ascribed to these things also that, as the author put it, "it will be difficult for Teleki research to escape from the taboo cage of history."

The article emphasizes Teleki's anti-German, that is, anti-Hitler stance, and his efforts at an independent revisionary program. But in this connection our historical literature cannot leave it unsaid how Teleki's concept, relying as it did on the Germans but without obligation to them, could reap revisionary successes and arrive at a complete failure: a one-sided political and then military pact, sharp confrontation with other power blocs, and then involvement in a World War that had been going on for a year and a half. The article speaks of Teleki's suicide as a moral act. Our historical literature does not dispute this possibility and its significance, but it cannot ignore Teleki's responsibility for the developments leading to the joint attack with the Germans on Yugoslavia. This is a responsibility which the outstanding statesman of the leadership of the counter-revolutionary system acknowledged not least of all with his sense of responsibility.

#### Hungarian Realm

Satisfied with the reluctance of the historians regarding the "rehabilitation" of Pal Teleki, the philosopher-psychologist Koteles himself attempts it in respect to the revisionist policy of Teleki and his related nationality policy. In his article Koteles first of all maintains that in the second half of the 1930's Teleki revised his earlier concept; acknowledging reality, he gave up the idea of the resurrection of Greater Hungary, and by taking into account and even expressing the interests of other people also in the Carpathian Basin he represented a revision of ethnic principle, for which he was subjected to attacks. The expert can only stand astounded before these "statements" that are supported by nothing. With the exception of the co-country, that is, Croatia, which did not count as a part of Hungary, Teleki gave up nothing. Germany was regarded as essential from the viewpoint of support for Hungarian revisionist efforts but in its Anschluss endeavors it had demands on the western Hungarian area in the German-inhabited part of Austria that was given to Austria under the name of Burgenland and which Germany actually annexed in March 1938; the Hungarian revisionist demand in that direction was of course, frozen. Moreover, out of necessity in respect to Czechoslovakia, Teleki acknowledged under the circumstances that existed

in the autumn of 1938, Hungary could only expect territorial revisions that were based on ethnic principles, but it never gave up its historical claim to the whole of the Felvidek. If he had avowed the ethnic principle only, we would have had to give up Sub-Carpathia; instead in the framework of the liquidation of Czechoslovakia, Hungary took possession of it by historical right in the spring of 1939. Teleki also regarded the territorial revision of 1939, which divided Transylvania, as only a compromise, a temporary solution. We agree with Koteles' note that we must interpret Teleki's use of words, his terminology, in its own original meaning, but Teleki himself very clearly and unequivocally expressed, and not only once, that he understood the Saint Stephen concept to mean both the Hungarian realm which claimed the nationality territories detached by Trianon and a multi-national country building by no means preponderantly on the Magyar ethnic population in regard to the handling of nationalities.

Hungarian policy since 1927 had already dealt with a more intensive propagation of revision on the basis of the ethnic principle, but not from the point of view of being satisfied with this, only as a means of breaking the status quo and preparing the ground for a complete revision. The campaign of the Hungarian Revision League that put ethnic revision in the forefront was followed directly by the announcement of the concept of "New Hungaria" whose midwife in addition to Bethlen was Teleki. This was the plan to lure --with the promise of autonomy rights--the detached nationalities of the Saint Stephen Kingdom once more under Hungarian rule. After Sub-Carpathia had been secured, Teleki took appropriate steps to implement its autonomy. Teleki was not subject to attacks because he represented ethnic revision but was attacked for the integral revision which he regarded as an unimpaired goal he held ineluctably necessary to assure autonomy rights to the nationalities, while Hungarian chauvinist aims did not even want to hear of this.

The article in question correctly emphasizes the tolerant nature of Teleki's nationality policy. It must be noted, however, that the official national policy held by the Hungarian governments throughout the period was moderate and patient, in contrast with the attitude of lower-level authorities and a significant part of public opinion. The latter always proved to be the stronger: in practice it was their nationality policy that was realized. The responsibility of the prime minister indisputably extends to this matter also, and Teleki cannot be exempt. Otherwise, after 1918, it was not only Teleki who condemned forced assimilation but all his predecessors and successors in the prime minister's office, although at the same time every Hungarian prime minister of the counter-revolutionary period--and Teleki was no exception--gave the benefit to highly varied and refined covert forms of assimilation, while making the nicest statements to the effect that nothing will prevent the nationalities from protection in their native language, culture and folk characteristics. If one examines--and very rightly--Hungarian nationalist policy in the light of East Central European comparison, he would do well for this period--here and there also somewhat beyond--to devote great attention to these very virulent, covert forms and methods of assimilation.

## Nationality Policy

It is proper to refer to the fair number of nationality schools, the data for which Koteles takes from the historical literature for the article, but it should be added that a not unjustified solicitude for a similarly fair number of Hungarian schools in the neighboring countries played a decisive role in their maintenance--the mutual compulsion of nationality policy as it developed, the principle and practice of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a school for a school, and not the obligatory respect itself for the nationality right of schooling in the native language. It is correct to note that Teleki required from Hungarian officials familiarity with the language of the nationality population in areas of this kind and that in this relationship he also had the nationality language taught in Hungarian schools. But it should also be said here that Teleki's requirement for nationality language knowledge--as he often said--was nothing more than a linguistic mishmash which permitted a minimum of communication, paid no attention to grammar, and was mixed with Hungarian words. And one might note that we do not have data on the extent to which the officials in question even at this level met the terms of the language examination (which was already ordered by the Bethlen government); and if they did not, whether it was accompanied by any kind of consequence. We can further mention the theoretical importance of the law "in defense of nationality feelings," but it would also have to be said that while under the charge of slandering the Magyar nation judgments were passed in large numbers on members of the non-Magyar population who because of their nationality grievances or simply their social situation had erupted in bitter outbursts, there were hardly any cases, even under Teleki, of offenses against members of nationalities having been actually punished under the new law. Even if we have no doubt that despite all these things the situation in Hungary might have been passably good as compared to the nationality policy conducted during this period in certain other countries of the East Central European area, we still find astounding the statement in Koteles' article that in Hungary Teleki "established a nationality policy practice which remains an example that can be followed and must be followed for the area," and as his article states more plainly in another place "for all time." We do not want to use big words because there are still problems in the area which enjoin us to modesty, devoted work and mutual efforts. But in the countries of the Danube Basin, in Hungary and elsewhere, other foundations are available for nationality policy.

## Twisted Truth

In place of a motto, Pal Koteles' article is introduced by two forced quotations. In this connection we only wish to note that in evaluating Teleki our historical literature weighed not only his results but his intentions, and is not at all insensitive to his tragic human fate. If it establishes--unlike Koteles' article but in accordance with reality--that Teleki's concept of society, his political outlook--despite many relatively noteworthy features--was not progressive, and his "national policy" efforts, "his nation-rearing" disquisitions served the goal of the counter-revolution; that Teleki belonged to the leadership of the counter-revolutionary system, and he felt from within and suffered its shallowness and the threatening



blindness of the system itself, and in his mortal despair he had a presentiment of the approaching catastrophe of the system he had lived through as his life's work, all this does not mean that he is an "outcast" for historical literature, but in any event it gives an answer why we cannot expect from today's historians a "recognition" that Teleki "still belongs to us." And as for Teleki's nationality policy as viewed more closely, our historical literature will not exchange, mix up its concepts: it will judge the nationalist nationality policy if it is conducted by the Hungarian government of Pal Teleki, although at least tolerantly in its intentions, as it would judge a policy--as hopeless--by those who suffered oppression but seek a way out on a nationalist basis. But the "strange outlook" would finally be this: if we saw on the basis of Pal Koteles' idea, Teleki's nationality policy concept and practice as an actual model for the socialist countries of the East Central European area.

There is no doubt that the author has good intentions in starting to put under revision the Teleki picture as shaped by our historical writing, and thought by him to be inadequate. But in this connection a quotation from Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky suggests itself and may serve as a motto for our comment on the Koteles' article: "By ignoring the truth or distorting it by force with whatever kind of good intention, we cannot deceive ourselves or throw dust in the eyes of others."

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NEW GASPAR BOOK: 'IN THE SERVICE OF THE WORKING CLASS'

Budapest MUNKA in Hungarian Jul 83 pp 10-11

[Review by Sandor Karpati of the book "A Nemkasosztaly Szolgalataban"  
[In the Service of the Working Class] by Sandor Gaspar, secretary general  
of the National Trade Union Council, member of the MSZMP Political Committee  
and vice-president of the Presidential Council]

[Text] Who was Mihaly Stetak and why did he merit a statue? What were the evening walks with Endre Sagvari like? What did Matyas Rakosi say to Sandor Gaspar in 1946 and what did Sandor Gaspar say to Santiago Carillo in 1981? What is the price of blind faith, of unconditional trust without doubts? What measures the value of trade union work? What are the relationships of superordination and subordination like for us? Can the Chinese trade unions return to the WFTU? These are a few questions from the latest volume of Sandor Gaspar published by the NEPSZAVA press with the title "In the Service of the Working Class." The answers to the questions cited can be found by anyone who picks up this readable volume of interviews some part of which are tensely exciting and other pages of which are touchingly beautiful and thought-provokingly instructive.

All this is naturally, just a sample, a taste from the rich volume which is neither history book nor memoir but which unites the virtues of both with the value of offering experiences in the service of providing political information. We can learn what factors played a role in starting a new process in the international trade union movement at the beginning of the 1960's and what the most important circumstances and lessons of the formation of the WFTU were. We can get an answer to the question of what the difference is between the independence and the autonomy of trade unions and what "transmission up and down" means. We can discover new recognitions and gather useful interdependencies about our standard of living policy the system of economic guidance, enterprise independence, undertakings, place of work democracy, the socialist brigade movement, the history of the Hungarian trade union movement, its present status and the process of its renewal.

In his answers given to the editors the secretary general of the SZOT [National Trade Union Council] gives his opinion about the meaning of compromises, the necessity of debates, the role of the personality, the

value of the six decades' experience of the Soviet trade unions, the behavior of the American trade unions, the lessons of the Polish crisis and the relations of communists and social democrats.

We can meet with an imposing array of facts and arguments reading about the question of political pluralism, a comparison of bourgeois and socialist democracy and the justification for the action unity of the international trade union movement. We learn how Sandor Gaspar feels about the youth, about the elderly, about culture and sport and whom he considers to be good speakers. We get an answer to whether it is correct for trade union leaders to have party functions as well.

A few isolated sentences of the interviewee faithfully reflect the content, style and tone of the book. Here is a small selection: "Where a person grows up, his entire life.... I know that many would not like to admit it but on the basis of my own experiences I must say that luck has a large role in forming the fate of a man too.... A person is unfit to do his work who is always inclined to work and express himself only after intentions are received from above.... There are social tensions even if we do not talk about them.... It is an important requirement of socialist democracy that in our system no one should have his rights violated, insofar as possible, and that everyone who is really right should get justice everywhere, not the person who is one rung higher up on the social ladder...."

It may appear already from the foregoing that the book of Sandor Gaspar is a significant, large scale work. It embraces the most important events of the past 5 decades of the country, the changes of historic importance, the struggles of the Hungarian and the international labor movement. It clearly and convincingly demonstrates the Lenin conception of trade unions, the essence and characteristic aspects of the trade union policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Making use of his manifold personal experiences he discusses the turning points in the history and chief problems of the international trade union movement and the activity of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the efforts it is making for the unity of the international trade union movement and for its own renewal.

There is virtually no theoretical question or considerable practical problem of the Hungarian or international trade union movement which does not come up, which does not receive an answer. And all this with the prestige, personal credit and the magic of the personality of a member of the Political Committee of the MSZMP, vice-president of the Presidential Council, secretary general of the SZOT and chairman of the WFTU. And what makes this book truly enjoyable and readable is that in the background of the great historical events we get a portrait of a labor leader, the rich, rising career of Sandor Gaspar. We can become acquainted with the life of a peasant family with 12 children in Pandi, we can learn how the path led from the old Steyr-Puch factory on Lehel Ut to 84/b Dozsa Gyorgy Ut of today, how a boy apprentice motor assembler became chief steward and communist, an outstanding figure and respected personality of the Hungarian and international labor movement.

The thought and emotional world of a working person are reflected in this career, the mentality of a labor leader is felt on the pages of the book. In approaching and expressing each problem--whether it be about income policy or the relations of party, state and trade union--Sandor Gaspar does not make statements but rather thinks and encourages thinking, argues meditatively and gives his position convincingly and attractively. He does not chase dreams; he walks on the earth, he is a realist. He builds on the experiences and lessons of the past, is open to everything new, always ready for renewal. His constantly recurring warning is: One must dare to think and doubt, because trust without reservation is dangerous. He considers neither his own nor the opinion of others to be unappealable. From his every statement one can feel his recognition and active espousal of the policy of the MSZMP, his respect for working people, the need to rely on the strength and wisdom of the masses.

Perhaps the following bit of text will illustrate the truth of the above statements. "Many know of me," says the general secretary of the SZOT about himself, "that I am an incorrigible, confirmed fan of the Iron Workers. If the center of another team scores against my favorite team, the Iron Workers, I do not get angry at that center. That is his job, to kick goals. I am mad at the guard who did not prevent it. This is the situation in bigger things too. One need not be mad at the enemy for casting doubt on the correctness of the Lenin conception but rather at that 'worker defense' which does not give an answer to this. As in soccer so here also one must say: Dear boys, make no mistake, the problem is not with the Lenin conception, for it is formulated durably, but rather with us, who apply it badly. With us, who try to fit the theory to a bad daily practice in the given case rather than enriching the activity of our days with a modernization of the theory. The Lenin conception is valuable and durable. If we do not apply it properly this is not Lenin's fault but ours."

Here is another example of the simple formulation and striking explanation: "The working person does not get to socialist democracy as to a new suit, which he buys after trying it on, or makes for himself and then wears. Socialist democracy is not a ready, finished condition but rather a developing process...."

The reader can share strikingly beautiful, sincere confessions: "In my childhood I was impressed by two people, the one who could say what time it was and the one who could tell his left boot from his right.... I would have been glad to go for history teacher because history always interested me very much, but it would have cost 4 pengoe per month and we could not come up with it. So I became an apprentice...."

"I was the last child, Endre Ady has a beautiful poem, 'Old Mrs. Kun.' This poem reminds me of my mother too...." Of his father he says: "When we were going to work in the summer he would pass the time on the road by reciting Petofi poems to me...." He speaks with respect of his first masters, of his teachers--Kalman Timar, Soma Braun, Marton Keleti. Even today he maintains contact with the friends of his childhood and youth.



Sandor Gaspar does not pretty up the facts, does not retouch reality when he talks about how he entered the trade union. "They enrolled me twice and twice I stayed out; the third time I stayed in out of embarrassment...."

In the confessions of Sandor Gaspar heartwarming memories are mixed with painfully somber events. To the former belong, for example, the still powerful memory of the land distribution and the latter the Rajk trial in the great hall of the ironworkers' headquarters. "I sat there too," he recalls. "I saw with my own eyes and heard everything with my own ears. And I ask: why didn't I believe then my own senses? Today I know what a devil's tactic it was to hold this trial just there, in the ironworkers' headquarters.... They abused our faith in the movement, in the party, in the ideal. This was our true tragedy. I went through hard days then. I had to reexamine in myself my entire life up to then...."

The reader can meet many well known personalities and less known fighters, artists and politicians in the course of the confessions, memories and events. Such names as Istvan Kossa, Jozsef Hahner, Odon Kishazi, Attila Jozsef, Tamas Major, Hilda Gobbi, Lajos Kassak, Gyula Illyes, Karoly Peyer, Arpad Szakasits, Leonid Solovyev, Mercelino Camacho, Louis Saillant, Anton Benya and many others.

If one had to write down one word which best expresses the content of the book, the essence of the message and behavior of Sandor Gaspar, then the reviewer would answer this: Service. The chief meaning and characteristic of the career of Sandor Gaspar is service to the people, to the cause of socialism. This is why the title of the volume of interviews is so fitting, "In the Service of the Working Class." It can be recommended reading for everyone interested in the community and public life and it is obligatory literature for trade union activists and officials.

8984

CSO: 2500/382

PPF SUPPORTED PEOPLE'S COLLEGE FRIENDSHIP CIRCLE FORMED

Budapest REFORMATUSOK LAPJA in Hungarian 2 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by Balint Kovacs: "Friendship Circle of People's College Students Formed"]

[Text] As continuation of the national meeting of people's college students held on 17 March 1983, on 8 June the Friendship Circle of People's College Students was formed within the framework of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front. Its first order of business is to include the former people's college students and their teachers and educators living in and near Budapest for the purpose of helping similar circles from in the districts also. The charter meeting elected its leadership and also set up its committees which in the fall will begin to work in accordance with the defined goals.

The people's college movement is aimed at the fostering and fruition of its noble and forward-looking traditions. It considers the spiritual "keeping alive" of the outstanding personalities of the one-time people's college movement, nursing their memories and informing today's and the future generations about their lives' paths and lives' works to be its important and beautiful calling. It will continue collecting and processing the movement's documents. Publishing all these in printed format is also in the plans. It encourages the creation of similar circles in those areas of the country where people's colleges operated. Forming and operating these circles can in all places be accomplished through involvement and help from the People's Front Committees. Locating and involving the past students, teachers and educators is an important task in this job.

Besides nursing the traditions and values of the past they should study the possibility of recreating the most valuable contextual and organizational elements of the committees in question and the people's college movement. They will initiate consultations and debates about creating new people's colleges to correspond to today's needs, and other timely social questions. In this respect the people in Sarospatak lead the way in the area of initiative as well as development. Istvan Harsanyi and Geza Kepes have already introduced some of their proposals. They will certainly build this work further at the people's college meeting to be held in Patak [Sarospatak] in early June, and by the fall they will present complete plans to the leadership of the friendship circle.

When we happily report all this, we will add that a friendship circle has also been formed for Budapest and vicinity. It has elected on the part of the former protestant people's colleges Kalman Ujszaszy, Geza Kepes, Peter Balla, Janos Gyory and Balint Kovacs among its co-chairmen and honorary chairmen. Co-chairman position was given to Kalman Benda to represent the people's college of Tata. Jajos Horvath, former principal of the Pesterzsebet people's college was elected chairman. Many former people's college students, educators and teachers were given positions in the committees.

That is, representatives of the various directions were given places in the Peoples' College Friendship Circles, and members of the evangelical [Lutheran] and reformed [Presbyterian] people's college were also included. This at the same time also means that our people's college movement which developed between 1936 and 1948, has been given recognition and further assignments. We are grateful to God that the blessings of this movement have been built into the life of our congregations and are living fruitful lives also in today's life of our society, since many of the former people's college people could and can perform significant services to the church and to society.

8584

CSO: 2500/380-2

## HUNGARY

### RELIGIOUS TRAINING SAID TO BE NO DISADVANTAGE

Budapest REFORMATUSOK LAPJA in Hungarian 10 Jul 83 p 3

[Interview with Janos Morber, Komlo Council President, and Sandor Racz, director of the Komlo Council Educational Department, by Tamas Vizaknai, minister of the Reformed Church, retired. Date not given. Interview held in the Komlo Town Hall]

[Text] Although work starts at 8 o'clock in the offices of the Council, the office chiefs are regularly present soon after 7 o'clock. A Council meeting is beginning: I am not the first party to be present in the office of Janos Morber, council chairman.

[Vizaknai] The conversations to which I have asked you have the following Biblical basis: "And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it." Our congregation shared as one man in the bereavement suffered by the families because of the tragic events in Beta and in their anxiety for those who were grievously injured. At the same time let us thank you that the Council shared in the joy of our congregation at the ordaining of Peter Nagy, the new minister.

[Morber] Truly, such events--joy and sorrow--can bring close to one another those who have differing world outlooks but who work in one country, one city and for one goal, namely, the people and their welfare. The new minister has already visited me and I am happy to have made the acquaintance of this young man. He made a good impression on me. I am of the hope that the relations between the city and the Reformed congregation will continue to be constructive.

[Vizaknai] Permit me to quote a saying. I do not recall who said it, but this is how it goes: "I cannot tell it to anyone, and therefore I shall tell it to everyone." At yesterday's ordaining I also greeted the new minister. I had in my pocket the text of my short speech. Because time passed so quickly I gave only half of this speech, the written text I handed over to the delegate of the city, asking him to have it placed among the archive documents.

[Morber] See, it is here before me on the table; I had just now started to read it.



/Vizaknai/ Please be so kind as to read in particular the second half of the text to see whether I may have said anything which would be offensive to the city or its leadership. Between the two of us I will say it: I am thinking of whether in places of authority they do not take it in bad part that the leadership of a socialist city shows such a "liberal" attitude toward the church communities. I must quickly add that in various areas and here as well not everyone can identify with the outlook of the leaders.

[Morber] (Reading): "The one thing which God has given is the little church. But before that he also gave us something else: this socialist city, the shelter it provides, bread and thus life--sometimes also death. A city which not only has ears but also eyes. It not only listens who loudly proclaims the materialistic world outlook, but--independently of who says what--it also sees who does what, who does his work, who does his daily tasks and in what way, and who with conscientious work puts matter and spirit on the table of the community. Not least of all God gave the city its present leadership, among them the two most recent council chairmen, of whom the preceding one--Jozsef Gallusz--kept us alive with the reiterated promise: 'Please be patient, the congregation will have a proper home'--and the present one, who redeemed this promise."

[Morber] Yes, it happened that the wheel of history turned during my tenure in such a way that I was able to fulfill the promise that was made. I was happy to do it.

[Vizaknai] I do not believe there is another socialist city in the country where the relationships between the city and the religious communities are so good and open as in Komlo. What can be the reason for this?

[Morber] I do not know what kind of relations exist in other cities; it is not within our province. But I can say two things. Firstly, we know that Marxism represents the world outlook that is sound, but we also know that there are others with world outlooks of their own that they like. We bind ourselves to the spirit of the clause in the Constitution assuring freedom and conscience and religion; as it has been expressed by the responsible leaders of the Party and the country, to the spirit of the statements shaping good relations between the state and the churches.

The second factor which determines our attitude toward the religious communities is that Komlo is a mining town. Our miners work under difficult geographical conditions, and despite all kinds of technical equipment and our precaution it is inevitable that tragedies should sometimes occur as now in Beta. Death did not see who was a party member and who was not; it ravaged blindly. The ten seriously injured miners who have remained alive were not rescued according to who had a party card in his pocket or who enrolled his children in religious instruction...as you heard in one of the radio interviews, the seriously injured themselves sent the rescuers to bring out colleagues who were even more seriously injured.

Finally, it is also important for the leadership of the city that whatever one's world outlook, whatever one's religion the important thing is that he should feel at home in the city and do his job well at his place of work.

[Vizaknai] I thank you for the conversation.

Dr Sandor Racz, director of the Educational Department, has his office one story above. In addition, for more than 21 years he has been lecturer in philosophy at the Komlo extension faculty of the Marxism-Leninism Night University.

[Vizaknai] The Director is well aware--I mentioned it at one of our most recent conversations--that I am to blame for serious official neglect: in the past 16 years I have made only once the announcement of the deadline for enrollment in religious instruction as provided by the Ministry of Education. This means that I have also violated the decree of my church's highest authority, and thus you can clearly bring disciplinary charges against me.

[Racz] I know, and you also informed me of the reason for the omission: you did not want the parents to be involved in a conflict of conscience since you understood--from them--that children who enrolled for religious instruction could suffer disadvantages at school, or in the Pioneer organization. I recall that I called attention to the fact that it may be possible your faithful were only giving you an alibi and would not in any event have enrolled their children.

[Vizaknai] My colleagues last Sunday and I myself yesterday announced the ministerial decree that came via the Ecumenical Presidium regarding the enrollment deadline. In my announcement I gave an account of our conversation last week, and I added that the Director's word and person can be a guarantee for all of us that no one will suffer disadvantages because of enrollment. Finally, I asked those present to believe there is no ground now for any kind of fear even as I once believed that there were grounds for anxiety.

[Racz] (Smiling) It is a great distinction for me that you reassure people who believe in God with the words of a Marxist who believes in materialism.

[Vizaknai] On basis of the above, I now put two questions: 1) If now certain parents believe in your work and mine and they actually--after so many years--enroll several children will this not be a bad mark for you in the eyes of the megye Education Department?

[Racz] (Laughing as it were) If out of approximately 3,000 students, let us say a maximum of 10 to 15 parents enrolled 20 Reformed Church children, believe me that this will not result in any kind of difficulties for me anywhere.

[Vizaknai] 2) Are you not concerned for the hegemony of Marxism in Komlo if beginning in 1983/1984--to the passing of the church--a few will participate in school religious instruction, and perhaps the number of those in religious instruction among our Roman Catholic brethren will increase?

[Racz] Does the Reverend think that I would have accepted the lectureship in philosophy at the Night University if I were not convinced that Marxism-Leninism can give more modern answers than Christianity to all problems of 20th century man?

[Vizakna] You may be right. I am sure of one thing, however: there are still many problems for the people of the 20th and succeeding centuries--unless they destroy themselves first with piled-up nuclear weapons--to which only Christianity can give reassuring answers. At least for those who accept Christianity. I thank you for the conversation.

As a moral I shall add three words to the interview in the nature of a title: free, may, must.

If in a socialist city we are free to enjoy the right of freedom of conscience and religion guaranteed by the Constitution, this is valid for the country as a whole.

The announcement of the council chairman regarding the city may be regarded as valid for the country: it is a decisive requirement of the building of developed socialism that everyone in this country feels, at home independently of world outlook, faith and nationality because only in this way can we expect from everyone good, conscientious work. Finally, the Reformed Church community must be born again and be renewed in heart.

6691

CSO: 2500/376

DER SPIEGEL INTERVIEW WITH BRATKOWSKI RAPPED

AU161421 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Aug 83 p 4

[Commentary signed 'Lektor': "Psychoanalysis According to the Former Chairman"]

[Text] Stefan Bratkowski did not go to Hamburg just as Szczypiorski never went to Zurich, because Hamburg came to Bratkowski. The editors of the DER SPIEGEL weekly selected the Danish journalist Martin Burcharth to interview the former chairman.

It was a strange interview and, as we were to see, a strange conversation. It was not, in actual fact, even a conversation, but more a monologue, or the words of the great sage to naughty children.

It was a strange monologue, but also one that was shocking. Its starting point, and to some extent, its very foundations were based on snobbism, because one can see at once that the former chairman is a bit of a snob. He has to show off. When asked by Burcharth, "Will Jaruzelski initiate a dialogue with his people after the lifting of martial law?" Bratkowski must, above all, prepare some snobbish proof of his credibility by replying, neither here nor there, that "Jaruzelski is an old friend of mine. I liked him. He was loyal to me..." and so forth. This is what is called a truly Varsovian opening. It then becomes possible to continue spinning a tale, after having thus made oneself feel better, which can roughly be summed up by the following: This is what I, Stefan Bratkowski, think about Poland after the lifting of martial law....

In order to disclose his thoughts, Bratkowski unfolds something in the nature of a psychoanalysis of the authorities in Poland. In his view, Poland has more bad politicians than good, both in the government as well as in the church, or to use Bratkowski's words, "the representatives of the Polish church have also had bad political schooling!" And again, "(Jaruzelski) is not a politician, he is not a manager, he is only a very good officer." Whereas politics is a complicated game, and in order to make policies, it is necessary to know how to play it. However, because "the political leaders of our country do not have any goals and do not have any prospects for the future," then they must, naturally, be playing their game rather badly. The fact that the premier is a tragic figure makes things easier, since the people are deceiving him while he himself wants to be deceived. And when later on Bratkowski adds that the only well organized political group in the country is the "secret service" then everything slowly begins to fall into place to form a classic picture. Where have we seen



this picture before? Until now only one film director had a monopoly on the dissident understanding of reality, but now, we have two such specialists. I wonder if their way of seeing the world will find any more takers?

My readers will think that I am making a biased summary of the former chairman, as well as a song and dance about serious matters. Well, I apologize for that, but there is no other way to summarize the interview. We are living in a country in which politics are dominated by a band of conspiring liars and "secret services" while we are all, together with the premier and the church hierarchy, the victims of this plot. This is very sad. DER SPIEGEL advertises the interview as "an interview with a Polish dissident," although I think that its editors have done this perhaps in the hope that this Polish dissidence may accidentally reveal its more profound thoughts. In the circles he represents, it is always easier to find someone who thinks Poles are stupid than to find someone who does not.

DER SPIEGEL recently revealed that POLITYKA does not exclude the possibility of the Yalta resolutions being revised. Everything that serves the purpose of these people is alright, whereas if the truth about Poland conflicts with their cause, then it always stands a smaller chance of being accepted. But why did the former chairman accept such principles? Could it be because he also had no idea how one should play the game?

The dissident theory of history is the last resort of people who find it difficult to conform to reality, so they escape into mysticism and myth-making. Deprived as they are and as they naturally would be of self criticism, they also fail to benefit their associates. Instead, they sow chaos in those who are susceptible to it, and pave the way for irrational inspirations. But perhaps not so much irrational as deviant?

CSO: 2600/1202

## PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

### Scientific Workers in Overcoming Crisis

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 12 May 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (1): "Participation of Scholars in Overcoming Crisis. Meeting at Economic Academy"]

[Text] Yesterday, 11 May, first secretary of the PZPR Executive Committee in Poznan Edward Lukasik met with the leadership and personnel of the scientific Economic Academy [EA]. During a discussion of the participation and role of scholars in overcoming the economic crisis, the first secretary was informed of the current work conducted by scientists and research groups at the Economic Academy. They are currently working on almost 300 research problems, a significant number of which are connected with the needs of the region and city of Poznan. Among other things, this school has already carried out an expert study on the state of economic affairs in Poznan. A group directed by Prof R. Domanski delivered to the Poznan governor, is a detailed five-volume study concerning the so-called Great Polish Trough, suggestions dealing with the possible exploitation of the deposits, confirming scientifically the view of their little usefulness.

Explorations by economists working at the Poznan school on problems in the domain of environmental protection, provincial investments, urban studies, agriculture, demography, economic education of the community and an anti-inflation program are continuing.

Such a broad scope of research as well as the educational work with students is faced with numerous obstacles in the form of the insufficient material base of the school. At the same time, a proposal has been made to continue construction of a new building and the library for the EA.

Among the problems with which the administration of the school grapples every day is the matter of student practice in work establishments, which is treated by the latter negligently. In addition, there are problems with professional practice for students of certain specialties, such as foreign trade.

First Secretary of the Executive Committee E. Lukasik criticized journalistic publication on economic subjects. He stressed that participation in proper economic education of the broad masses of society through articles and press publications is also an important task for scholars.

## Thoughts on Party Organization

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 20 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by W. Nowak: "My Organization...With Thought of the Party"]

[Text] What kind of organization is it? What kind must it be? So I could say about it: "my organization." Not because my name is on file, written down in the notebook where the secretary marks paid party dues. "My organization" is something closer, it's my friends in weal and woe, who, if I am in trouble, will lend me a helping hand, give a piece of advice. Are there such basic party organizations in general? They certainly are there, although we tend to regard them rather as a theoretical ideal. Various things happen in life. I recall the first postwar years. 1945, 1946, 1947...a difficult period: fighting against counterrevolution, reconstructing the land in ruins, beginning to manage the regained lands. The Polish Workers' Party was then the virtual inspirer and organizer of the new life in the country. Its members felt united: I remember the tiny cells of good old PPR [Polish Workers' Party], where party members were just like one big family. They helped one another, worked on rebuilding work establishments, cultivating land. Together they also learned the ABC of politics. Party meetings were frank and open. There was criticism and self-criticism. No one was ashamed, no one was insulted--in any case did not show it.

Perhaps I am idealizing it, as one idealizes one's youth. Perhaps. But in most cases such was the party then, such were its members--us. Perhaps for this reason we are sometimes disgusted today when we look at certain kinds of behavior or attitudes of some party members, disagreeing when decisiveness is necessary, looking for personal comfort when sacrifice and commitment are essential...

Am I exaggerating? I am doing it on purpose, to provoke a discussion, a frank party conversation, both in base party organizations and in the columns of the party newspaper. Joining the party I understand as voluntary acceptance by each member of greater duties and responsibilities, subordination to the statute of the party as a conscious ideological choice, joining up with the party for better or for worse and not as a career opportunity. These positive features must be developed and deepened precisely in my basic party organization.

What, for example, am I to do when my base party organization gives out an unfair opinion of me, when it is biased by someone influential at the place of work? I can turn to a party institution, to a committee of party control. Yes, it's true. But they don't know me there, I'm just a comrade on file, what counts there is the opinion of the POP's secretary (subjective like any other), as well as that of the director and administrator. How many were

there such critical opinions in the last 3 years, especially in 1980 and 1981? How many good, committed party members were bothered and morally assaulted by Solidarity extremists at their place of work! Good if their POP could take a proper stand and courageously defend its people. Naturally, when those concerned were honest, good workers. It is in a POP like that that an emotional link among party members was being created, no matter what place they occupied or what function they performed at the establishment. But how many POPs did not rise to the occasion? And this had a bearing on confusion of more than one party member, on his isolation and often turning away from the party. I've talked about these topics with many party members, including those who right after the war organized PPR cells in the Koszalin lands. They stressed that a good party collective, a POP where one can find sympathy and help, is extremely important in such situations. Such an organization rouses hope and a certainty that one belongs to a collective that knows what it wants, that can make a real difference and not just convenes meetings and collects membership dues.

In the enormous amount of difficult matters brought every day by today's life, it is worth giving some thought to your organization: what should be done so you could say about it: "my POP."

#### Party Organization in Workforce Problems

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 22 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by K. Kasprzak: "To Be Close to Vital Affairs of the Staff. Party Organization in Pulaw 2nd Section of the Land State Automobile Communication [KPKS]"]

[Text] In the center of interest of our party organization, says Zenon Sikora, inspector of work safety and hygiene with the Pulaw 2nd Section of the Land State Automobile Communication and simultaneously its POP's organizational secretary, are main vital affairs of the workforce. We not only dedicate most of our meetings to them, but also most of the meetings of the board. Thanks to this, people have begun to trust us party members, because they see that our intentions are good. After all, for several months we have been saying vocally and boldly that the time has come to put an end to disorder and waste.

The party organization in this transportation enterprise has currently 47 members, including two candidates who have recently filed declarations expressing their desire to join the ranks of PZPR. In the beginning of 1980 it had 10 members more. Later, several comrades returned their party cards, several others were expelled for an attitude unworthy of a party member, and several changed their place of work and naturally transferred to other organizations. Those who remained turned out to be worthy people who can be counted on even in the most difficult moments.

Thanks to an active attitude of many party members and a majority of representatives of the enterprise's administration, the 770-person staff has



been working without further complications. True, at the end of 1981 several incidents have been noted, but luckily they have not had any further impact on the section's activities. Good results have been obtained especially in the past year. Despite the suspension of a sufficiently large number of long-distance runs, the plan of passenger transportation has been fulfilled almost 110 percent, exceeding the projected returns by more than eight percent. Very favorable results have been achieved also during the first 5 months of this year: almost all indicators have been implemented with a surplus.

In the beginning of last year, members of the board performed an evaluation of the administration personnel consisting of 62 persons. Interviews were conducted with workers employed in stations of division chiefs, with management representatives present; with others, interviews were conducted only in their own area. As a result of these discussions, as many as eight persons received negative evaluations. The administrative board recommended the dismissal of the head bookkeeper and two specialists in technical matters. The first was accused of extreme negligence in basic work duties. His moral attitude also gave reasons for worry. The latter two showed little activity in their positions. Other organizational and personnel changes were also suggested. Three division heads and a social worker for bad performance of their work duties [as published]. The warehouse keeper received a reprimand inscribed in his personal record for improper behavior and irresponsible way of life. These moves created quite a stir not only in this enterprise, but also in several nearby work establishments. Naturally, all these demands were later accepted by the management of the section and found their confirmation in practice.

In February of the same year, informs us first secretary of the POP (working at the enterprise as a manager) Stanislaw Gorski, at a meeting of the party organization we appointed a Joint Inspection Committee, consisting of six persons some of whom were nonparty members. Its main purpose is to evaluate management of spare parts, materials and fuels. Despite its brief period of activity, the committee can boast first results. In many cases, unjustified removal of spare parts from the warehouse has been confirmed, among other things.

In the following month, at a meeting of the board, with a member of the Executive Committee Board of PZPR and a representative of the Economic Section of the Executive Committee of PZPR present, an evaluation of the speed of the investment works performed at the local institution in Ryki was made. It was established that the work at the construction of a technical supplies base and an administrative-social building was being performed with great sluggishness. The speed with which the work was conducted by two subcontractors, namely the Lublin Electric Installations Enterprise and Lublin Instal Industrial Investment Enterprise, was especially objectionable. As a result of the intervention by members of the board of the basic party organization, the situation at the construction improved drastically.

First results of the economic reform were discussed at a party meeting already after a 6-month period of its implementation. The need for a more rational

employment of workers as well as insufficiently effective use of certain bus runs were pointed out. Other resources were also sought out, which in the future would allow for a more detailed elaboration of the savings and anti-inflationary program.

The meeting of the board in the beginning of February, with directors and party organization secretaries of enterprises using the services of the Pulaw special section participating, was also devoted to seeking out resources. During the discussion, the contents of the respective resolutions of the 10th plenary session of the Central Committee of PZPR dealing with lowering transportation costs were discussed. One of the results of this meeting was a merger of several bus routes bringing workers to local places of work. To tell the truth, in view of the new principles of management (self-sufficiency) this was not very profitable for the transportation enterprise, but in this case higher interests (thriftiness) took precedence.

In the end of last March, foundations of the savings and anti-inflation program were discussed at an open party meeting. As a result of the discussion, it was decided to supplement the program with proposals and demands made during the party debate. Recently, specialists have worked out complete tasks in this area, according to which a lowering of transportation costs by more than 14 million zlotys will occur already this year. This will be possible due to capital repairs in the automobile park, conducted on a larger scale than before as well as to the use of repaired parts and retreaded tires. Savings expected next year reach almost 7 million zlotys, and the following year 100 percent more.

At the last meeting of the Board, the work of the technical section was analyzed. It was emphasized that despite a meager technical base workers of this section perform their tasks consistently better; this is evidenced by the continuous maintenance of a high level of technical readiness of the buses. A request was directed to the address of the management of the section, namely to strengthen their efforts to increase supplies of tires and accumulators; this would permit much better use of the park after the capital repairs.

Welder Henryk Wankiewicz says: I've been working for the Pulaw special section for a few months; previously I lived in Tyche and was employed at the District Enterprise for Thermal Energetics there. Comparing the activities of party organizations in both work establishments I must objectively assert that the style of work in my present POP suits me much better, because its activities cover personnel much more broadly while it also takes the responsibility for economic results. The only shortcoming is perhaps too little involvement of young workers, who will have to take the responsibility for the fate of the establishment on their shoulders in the future. Taking into consideration the current economic situation in the country, savings should be sought further.

Fire safety chief Herman Pawelec (member of PZPR for 20 years) adds: In order to increase the ranks of our organization, we must, in the nearest future, pay more attention to broadening of the ranks of the party. It is further necessary to fight consistently for orderliness in the enterprise. With

economic results in mind, it would possibly be worthwhile to build in our region a tire treading plant. Now we take them to Wolbromie (Krakow Province) or Bolechowo (Poznan Province). Many other transportation enterprises are in a similar situation.

The example of the base party organization in the Pulaw Section 2 of the Land State Automobile Communication is perhaps the best evidence of the fact that even a small organization can do a lot. In fact, this depends mostly on the commitment and activeness of its members; the climate created by the management of an enterprise, however, is not without significance.

#### Unity in Today's Party

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 23 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Tomasz Persidok]

[Text] In our reflections on today's shape and form of PZPR we shall more than once refer to the contents and course of the 12th Plenary Session of the Central Committee. The plenary session, which, as is known, had been awaited with great impatience by large masses of party members and even in political opponents aroused unhealthy emotions and speculations, gave an even-minded answer to the basic questions about Poland's present. Many problems of the party's policies and its methods of action were also clarified.

The question which directly or indirectly permeated the plenary discussion was the matter of unity, or in other words cohesion in the party's ranks. I think that the importance of this topic followed from two reasons. Firstly, there have certainly been sporadic instances of underestimating and at least private interpretation of the unity slogan by some comrades. Then comes (secondly) the fear, far from sporadic among party members, that the requirement of unity automatically leads to a weakening of the freedom to express oneself and to act, that it is synonymous with "rigid course."

"The period of confusion left behind various types of demagoguery," said at the 12th Plenary Session party First Secretary Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski who pointed out the still occurring in the party "susceptibility to primitive political slogans, rightist muddleheadedness and meandering of thought, opportunistic falling-apart, and also to ultraleftist phraseology." These are "adherents of old political manners and antiquated methods of management," who "just cannot work in a new way." Among them, there are many "bureaucrats and fops." Against this background, the most dangerous for the future and efficiency of the party's activities is factionality. "This we will not tolerate in any form," Wojciech Jaruzelski finished this thought.

The character of the current threat to the party's internal health cannot be defined more clearly and perspicuously. And it is here that the uncrossable borderline lies, separating the wide expanse of intraparty democracy from that which must be alien to the party, namely empty verbiage, pursuit of private interests and settling of personal scores.

Thus, the requirement of unity in the party's ranks in the face of the various actual and possible threats does not mean some artificial polarization of positions; nor does it imply thoughtless execution of instructions from higher up, "in unison." Those who think that, are mistaken. Moreover, they do not properly understand the sense of the changes which the party underwent in the recent years. Consequently they ignore the great achievements of the process of socialist renovation, which is an obvious, easy-to-see fact.

The party must defend--and defend it does--that which is the sense of its existence: interests of the working class on the basis of the marxist-leninist ideology. This is the canon which cannot be subject to discussion. However, one must take into consideration the actual situation in which not everyone and not in every matter has the same opinion and when there can be many ideas on solving specific matters of the country. Neither the party nor the government, nor any authorities are error-proof. Within the framework of socialism--as well as inside the party--there is room for discussion and attrition of opinions and views. Democracy is not an enemy of unity--just as unity is not an assault on democracy.

It is worthwhile at this point to quote once more from the final address by the first secretary of the Central Committee of PZPR:

"The Polish United Workers' Party does not subdivide itself into 'Left,' 'Right,' or 'Center'. The party as a whole is the Left. This genuine Left must be upheld."

Such is precisely, in my view, the most graphic definition of the need for unity in the party--and the way to achieve it.

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## PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES EXAMINED

### Leading Party Roles

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 7 Jun 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Tomasz Persidok: "How to Lead?"]

[Text] The Ninth PZPR Congress created, under unusually complicated circumstances, the foundation for the qualitatively new socialist democracy. It also developed a concept of the marxist-leninist party playing a leading role under the new conditions. There are opinions that this innovative line was only a kind of tactical "maneuver" in the face of the many attacks and pressures on the party at that time. These are superficial and erroneous statements. The program of the Ninth Congress is essentially a logical consequence, a result, of the good and bad experiences of socialism in Poland.

The line of the Ninth Congress is the line of ideological leadership, in conformity with the basic interests of the working class and at the same time in conformity with the requirements of eliminating the future danger of repetition of past conflicts, errors and pressures, at least to the extent that this is possible in a really functioning society.

### Conditions

Apparently there is no need to return to the resolutions of the congress program. Before us we have thousands of current tasks, everyday matters, and difficulties resulting from the still-continuing crisis. The party struggles with many more or less significant problems and is forced into ideological battle with constantly active opponents, fights against the difficulties of an economic nature, overcomes the resistance of its own weakness....

I believe--perhaps I am wrong--that everything which actually determines power and weakness, good or bad work in party organizations, has its direct

and indirect relationship to the congress resolutions. To speak more clearly, the party stood on its own feet more rapidly where the resolutions of the Ninth Congress form a guideline and beacon for the methods of party work and attitudes of individual members, as well as for methods of performing a leading role in the new (from a historical viewpoint) sociopolitical situations.

Just what are the elements of this system?

Above all we have to do with a modernized system of socialist democracy. This "modernization" is based primarily on the restoration to democracy of all of its advantages, covered with dust in the past. Greater authority for democracy, an increase in the role of the public in making decisions, social consultation, control and criticism, are these new or exotic slogans? Obviously not. But the service rendered by the Ninth Congress was a serious, literal and therefore honest approach to them.

New institutionalized forms of democracy, such as the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], have appeared. Various reservations are heard with respect to PRON from the left and from the right, that it is not representative, and that it is not this and not something else....One sure thing is that PRON has come into being and that something else could come into being in its place. But no one can deny the essential point: the social base of government has been considerably expanded. A new sphere of activity has been opened for people of the most varied convictions and opinions. This "improvement in democracy"--whether this means PRON or something else--is a result of the Ninth Congress resolutions.

Another element is the trade unions. They arouse hope, emotions and controversy. However, no one can deny that they are not the same courteous, docile, peaceful unions as before August 1980.

The same is true of the worker self-government. Its role and its practical functioning in enterprises can be evaluated today in various ways. Sometimes it even happens that a political opponent is allowed to speak in these bodies: the people are taking their union matters into their own hands, in accord with the requirements of the reform and in accord with the spirit and letter of the congress.

If we can still recall the undoubted growth in the role of the Church in social life, the remnants of the shock--or at least apathy--in the ranks of the party, the social atmosphere which was not very supportive of party work, the treatment in hostile foreign propaganda, we have a picture composing the current conditions for party performance of a leading role, and to some party members this may look unclear or even blurred.

#### Methods

It was Vladimir Lenin's idea that it is always necessary to use those forms of party work which, under concrete historical conditions, best guarantee the leading role of the party. These forms have to be distinguished as a function of time and place.

This leads immediately to one general requirement: do not submit to a set pattern and routine, do not adopt a convenient but safe attitude of waiting for instructions "from above." Every party member, every communist should, in agreement with his conscience and best knowledge, recover flexibly and without a pattern in new situations, especially when it is a matter of participating in various institutions of socialist democracy. We know today, for example, that arguments and logic are more important than the outdated methods of "manual control."

Not all party members are capable of bearing this new obligation, and this should not be surprising. Months and even years will pass before the activity of all party cells and the attitudes of all members correspond completely to the needs of the times.

However, there is no other way to achieve full social approval of party activity. There is no other way to increase the effectiveness of performance by the government, overcoming the artificial division into "the governing" and "the governed." Finally there is no other real way to improve the functioning of the socialist political system.

#### Requirements

All of the above refers to the "lifestyle" of the party, here and now, in the face of concrete social conditions. In examining all of these questions it is obviously not possible to forget that the "basic ideology in PZPR activity is the marxist-leninist theory" (Resolution of the Ninth Congress). While the nature of the party is not open to discussion, the search for new methods of party work must not stop. The party is a guarantee of the realization of the basic ideas and values of socialist ideology, but no decree nor resolution can guarantee the effectiveness of party work.

What does this mean for the "ranks" who have a membership card? The result is a number of obligations, for example, a need to increase their activity in the nonparty environment (the demand for "offense"), the obligation of being familiar with the resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the party and putting them into practice, the obligation of deepening their ideological and political knowledge....Not least of all is the obligation of being present among the working people and becoming sensitive to their problems and complaints. Lastly there is the obligation of criticism and economic thinking.

To put things concisely, the adaptation of the party to the new situation is resolved in accepting the need to "divide jurisdictions and authority." Holding to socialist principles does not necessarily mean a know-it-all attitude, helping others in their obligations and finally interfering in everything, including the proverbial "kitchen sink." This is then a question of socialist democracy taken seriously, without pretense and fiction, and with proper understanding of the leading role of the party.

## Attitude of Party Member

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 7 Jun 83 p 1

[Text] On 25 May of this year the PZPR City-District Committee of Wroclaw-Srodmiestecie devoted its plenary meeting to discussions of party member attitudes. The dictionary of the Polish language explains this word as an "attitude of man to life or a certain definite sphere of events; relationship, attitude, behavior, procedure."

This alone shows that the subject adopted is difficult and multifaceted, but also current in today's times. From rich discussion in which ten comrades spoke, we determined to select one statement to quote in its entirety. This will be the statement of Kazimierz Noga, the chairman of the City-Section Committee on intreparty matters.

His statement seems to be very significant and relative, a statement that membership in the party is taking upon oneself additional narrowly defined obligations and that therefore communists should become more and more widely convinced that, under unusual and exceptionally difficult circumstances when it is necessary--as at present--to mobilize all forces to overcome the obstacles resulting from the crisis situation, a great deal depends on the daily attitude of all PZPR members, on the fulfillment of party membership criteria.

The party always needs wise activity, but today in the period of bitter critical conflict it is absolutely indispensable. The party is a large community of ideas and people, complex and differentiated in its composition. We have veterans and young people, professors and workers, distinguished and simple honest people, but we also continue to have careerists and schemers. There are communists who are ready to give all their strength for the good of the party, but there are also common party card "carriers."

The obligations of a party member, if he is really convinced, are not easy. Especially now, when the crisis situation in the country is becoming more complicated and intensified, the tasks to be performed are enormous. Therefore we cannot afford to waste time and energy on prolonged sterile discussions and naive moralizing. Active work and activity on the offensive are at their highest value today, especially in the actual working posts and in their environment.

In the majority of party organizations there is a proper climate and need for discussion on politics and democracy in the party and in society, and on wide-scale social justice, and there is a climate for sincere and open discussion, the posing of bold questions and a search for courageous answers. Therefore an urgent task is to transform this current of healthful criticism into constructive activity, dressing reflections and resolutions in a concrete dimension. This clearly suggests that we must take the initiative and constantly show and convince the people that it is on their own efforts and their own work that we really rely for socialist renewal. Otherwise the



renewal will only be verbiage, another verbal declaration of the cultivation of appearances, costing nothing.

At meetings, in friendly conversations and sometimes in sharp discussions we are happy to talk of socialist renewal at length. The decided majority of the most impetuous, critical and instructive solutions, deductions and disputes concerns general, national, regional or professional matters. The fact that we are most willing to take examples from areas far away and are reluctant to take them from our own backyard is characteristic. We direct the majority of our critical glances upward, and only there do we perceive irregularities and distortions, as if forgetting the need for discriminating inspections of our own range of activity and of the problems associated with it, or reflection upon our own attitude.

We feel well in the role of teacher and we like to prompt and give good advice, and to teach, but we pull in and take offense when some honest, sincere soul reminds us that the criteria of renewal properly and necessarily apply to us as well.

We would like to change, improve and reform every place except the segment for which we are responsible. After a certain time of discussion and arguing, we come to the conclusion that, practically speaking, nothing is changed by it. The organizational mess which heaps so many difficulties upon us does not completely belong to the past, and bureaucracy, our common sin, is still oppressing us and is now pouring ceaselessly from the broken faucet which only dripped in the past.

Therefore let us not be inclined to ascribe all of the negative phenomena and irregularities, which make our life so difficult and cause so much dissatisfaction, to the closest undefined force, the ones above us. While demanding what really belongs to us, let us look critically at our own management, at what we are doing and what we are responsible for. Let us not practice any deceit at work, and not let our colleagues or even superiors do so. Instead of reform and improvement, inspiration and depth, it might be better, to speak clearly, to answer the following simple questions:

What have I done to activate card-carrying party members?

What have I done to effectively carry out the party tasks assigned to me?

What have I done to get the most benefit from the means of production assigned to me?

What have I done to prevent bureaucracy and formalism from harming honest work?

What steps have I taken to improve working conditions for the crew?

How do I speak and live with respect to my coworkers and colleagues?

How much do my words correspond with my actions?

What have I done for my family and to raise my children?

Thus, without losing perspective or a clear viewpoint, it is possible to begin renewal with ourselves.

#### Understanding, Conflict in Party Ideology

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 7 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Wojciech Furman: "Understanding and Battle"]

[Text] In difficult times, when it is necessary to deal with a crisis, is there room in the party for ideological activity? Would it not be better to postpone this until later, when it will be easier?

The answer to this question appears obvious. Ideology determines the identity of the party as the party of the working class, and it is not an addition to but the essence of activity. It constitutes a general expression of worker interest. Its most important function is to outline strategic programs and the current policy of the party. If the party forgot about ideology, it would be acting in the dark, like blind people, and its activity would be thoughtless.

The purpose of worker ideology is an organization of society which frees people from exploitation so that they can work without coercion and develop their own talents. An ideology which bases its purpose on such changes is not a simple sum of the wishes of the working class and its allies. It constitutes a theoretical concept which must be brought into the consciousness of the people, subjected to evaluation and verified in practical activity.

Some of the spheres of this activity and verification are trade unions, various forms of self-government, social organizations and particularly the national agreement movements. The very party which outlines the main idea of changes should relevantly express the interests of the working class, enjoy its trust, be organized efficiently and be conscious of these goals.

The range of matters mentioned here was the subject of a plenary meeting of the PZPR Voivodship Committee [KW] in Przemyśl on 3 June of this year. The plenary meeting concerned ideological and propaganda activity of the party with consideration given to the current political situation. This situation is marked by an increase in party importance and strength, progress in the economy, and a further weakening of the effects of the enemy. Along with these beneficial phenomena there are also negative ones.

In his report Lesław Chowanski, the KW secretary, said: "Among us are comrades who somehow forget that there was an August 1981 and a Ninth Congress. They have promised that the mistakes will never be repeated. They went before the trade unions on their bended knees, and now do not have the time to listen to union workers."

A resolution of the PZPR KW plenary meeting in Przemyśl devotes attention to the need for further strengthening of the party, and improvement in its style and methods of working. It points out the obligations of party members in public activity--in unions, self-government and the agreement movement.

During the plenary meeting one of the participants pointed out a characteristic example. Several party workers were fired from work in the voivodship office. This was done without getting the opinion of the party organization. In other words it was too hasty. In reply the Przemyśl governor explained that all workers in the voivodship office had been given an evaluation. Those whose work was considered unsatisfactory were fired. The first group included some party members who should have excelled in trade work.

This matter, pointed out in the discussion, was not completely explained during the meeting, which did have other purposes. However, it is worth asking why the party organization in the voivodship office allowed members to work so poorly that they had to be fired. On the other hand, was this really a good evaluation system?

An entire section of the resolution of the PZPR KW plenary meeting in Przemyśl concerns training activity. There was very critical talk in the discussion about the abandoned subjects and the routine forms of party training. It was pointed out that a party member should aim at improving his knowledge and working constantly on himself so that in case of need he could manage to conduct a meeting or to present political information.

In his presentation at the plenary meeting in Przemyśl the PZPR Central Committee secretary, Marian Orzechowski, pointed out that, although the party line is indicated by the Ninth Congress resolution, the party itself and the situation in Poland have changed in the almost 2 years which have passed since the congress. The 12th Plenary Meeting of the PZPR Central Committee provided new emphases, and more clearly outlined the line of agreement and battle, agreement with everyone who wants to contribute to the stabilization and development of Poland. However, the price of agreement must not be defection from socialist principles.

#### Party Obligations

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 8 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Krystyna Majda: "With Open Doors"]

[Text] All of the institutions and offices on which citizens have some claim are located in Srodmiescie. These include the administration of municipal transportation, railroad transportation, trade, services, the Ambulance Service and associations.

Here the show windows constitute visiting cards for the new rich, who are making millions in the crisis. Here clerks and saleswomen impose their

opinions about the political and government authorities. This is because their observations, nobody knows why, are associated with those who hold high positions.

The secretary of the PZPR Lodz-Srodmiestcie City-Section Committee [KD] wonders: "How to work effectively? How to work with the party in order to improve the economy?"

The KD first secretary, Krzysztof Zebrowski, states: "I always say that the small things are the most important. Often an understanding in important questions, such as the introduction of the reform and improvement in the style of party work, depends on making them easy."

Only on Paper?

The Srodmiestcie party echelon has a program adopted at the Election Reports Conference, and it includes many resolutions. Each of these documents is valid and fundamental, but does not add or include anything. Would it be possible to convert them into practical language, construction, for example? This year two kindergartens for Srodmiestcie could not be inserted into the investment plan. Quarters could not be assigned for physiotherapy buildings and clinics. The PZPR Lodz-Srodmiestcie KD Executive Council is therefore demanding another examination on the matter of how quarters were used after the elimination of various institutions and offices in this region.

Every fifth inhabitant is a retiree or a pensioner. Every 18th person is an invalid, often from the war. People using physiotherapy must travel to distant sections of the city in order to be treated. Keeping in mind the problem of disabled people, these matters have been reported to the WRN [Voivodship People's Council] and DRN [City-Section People's Council] party teams.

At every successive meeting since the beginning of May the KD Executive Council has been checking on the realization of the resolutions adopted at the time of the Election Reports Conference.

During this check it has become apparent that the next sore point in one of the resolutions is the spread of culture in the school youth environment. The last time this problem was taken up by the party echelon was 4 years ago. They returned to the matter on 23 May this year. This concerns the preparation of a young person for acceptance into some kind of professional education by instilling in him the habit of attending the theater, philharmonic orchestras, museums and art exhibits. It is time to stop molding our young people with trash and mediocre literature. Let outstanding rock groups into the program, but also have outstanding recitals, and patriotic and revolutionary songs.

Almost all of the professional culture offices in Lodz are located in Srodmiestcie, so we should stop accepting school self-government and teacher opinion about what repertoire to play.

KD secretary Stanislaw Zareba acknowledges that he did not take too optimistic a feeling away from the meetings of the Executive Council at which they



discussed the spread of culture among professional students. It is still difficult to coordinate a program of activity, and a definite concept is simply lacking. Not much is known about the official cultural places which young citizens can attend. These matters should lead to some real cooperation between the Department of Culture of the Lodz City Office and the Office of Education and Training. After all, they have their headquarters in the same building. How difficult could it be for them to meet and coordinate a program? Shouldn't they present more good amateur groups from the Srodmiescie schools? These are often received better in factories than professional actors.

The spread of culture among school youth and consultation on this problem without them cause a great many questions to go unanswered. Therefore the party echelon encourages creators to establish contact with the young in order to extirpate the "peaks of mediocrity" from the schools.

#### To Be Among the People

Krzysztof Zebrowski states that: "There is no question without an answer--this is the main principle which we try to use in practice. We have already approached almost all basic party organizations. This is because small and medium organizations are typical of our district."

Turning to statistics, Srodmiescie has more than 60 independent POP [basic party organization] and 20 plant committees. Their fundamental party task is to continuously analyze the affairs of the people, to react to the moods of the public and to try to satisfy the needs of employees.

The secretaries of the city-district echelon are aware of how important everything is which constitutes day-to-day activity. Before they assumed party functions, they studied life in factories and in schools. Krzysztof Zebrowski worked in WIFAMA [Widzen Textile Machinery Works] and in Marchlewski [Marchlewski's Wool Industry Plants]. He was an ironworker, a mechanical technician, and finished his economic studies at the University of Lodz. Slawomir Starowiecki was a textile engineer and transferred to the district echelon from the ZPW named for J. Niedzielski. With a pedagogical education, Grzegorz Warcholinski was a teacher. Stanislaw Zareba was a mechanical engineer, and once worked as a PL scientific worker. The secretaries understand that people constantly watch them in the factory, in the theater, on the street and at parties at acquaintances' homes.

How do they evaluate the situations in the basic party echelons? Have they been able to shake off stagnation and have party members found their own places? The organizational secretary, Grzegorz Warcholinski, answered: "Symptoms of stagnation are less and less typical. On the other hand a desire to work with new methods can be observed, along with a need to improve knowledge. We have eliminated almost 2,000 'deadwood' from our Srodmiescie party organization. We are accepting new people into the party, an average of three or four persons per month, almost all of whom are young. We have already received the first signs of those who surrendered their membership and are looking for a chance to come back into the PZPR ranks. But sometimes it is still too early for such a return."

Do symptoms of boycotting party organizations exert pressure on PZPR members?

No clear attacks of terror, or even of pressure, have been noted as yet. However, the section echelon has in its possession a rather thick portfolio of so-called "visual propaganda." These are primitive drawings and gross phrases with which they try to slander the party, PRON and new trade unions. All of these symptoms of activity from the opposition do not usually lead to any result. The inhabitants of Srodmiescie often visit the City-District Committee to talk about their problems and to ask for aid.

"More than once people have come to us who never before showed any readiness for contact with the party," said Krzysztof Zebrowski, adding: "We are working with an open-door policy. We are constantly under public control. And this is very good. Sometimes, for example, a person comes here just to inspect my 'office.' I have invited them in, we have smoked a cigarette together, and have chatted about common matters."

#### Weather for the Rich

In the party we constantly hear critical statements about the excessive enrichment of confidence men behind the drawers of private shops at the cost of the working people. Questions are asked about who supports this sector of the economy. Who permits such price rises? There are no workers, nor even the party, on the side of the private storekeepers. Who makes decisions on market lawlessness? When such questions are asked, the principle--there is no question without an answer--breaks down.

What can be said, for example, to a working woman who talks about her child avidly watching an equal gorging on chocolate bought with dollars?

The KD economic secretary, Slawomir Starowiecki, did not dwell on the situation of workers' children and private initiative, but announced that on 25 May, precisely today, directors of state enterprises are taking an examination on the economic reform. He asked a question without concealing his sarcasm: "Who is giving a test on the crisis for the private shopkeepers?" Nobody examines or even checks on "these cadres." Could new "prominences" have developed?

Between February 1982 and May of this year 12 directors and deputies have been replaced in socialized factories in Srodmiescie. The main complaints against them were improper and uneconomic management methods. Cadre matters in the cooperative sectors are still not completely settled. Cases also occur where someone unfit for one position exchanges it for another without leaving the management cadre. Sometimes a person who has been working poorly gets a job in another plant at considerably higher wages. However, the party echelon and organizations are not always able to prevent such cadre improprieties.

#### Whom Does the Party Support?

It undoubtedly supports those whose eyes are turned toward economic management and not toward money alone. Not surprising is the fact that it is particularly

these people who most often ask representatives of the party authority: "How does it happen that a storekeeper from Piotrkowska Street or from other Srodmiescie streets has two foreign luxury cars, but a working man must often save for his whole life for a good apartment and a 'kid'? Why hasn't the city-district echelon exercised proper control of shops before and prevented unjustified prices demanded for trash?"

And again the questions come up which the party members cannot answer, because often they themselves wonder about the same questions.

#### Constructive Program for Party Members

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 8 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by am: "Constructive Program Consolidates Party Members"]

[Text] Yesterday in the Katowice metallurgical plant an election-program conference was held for the plant party organization. It ended the election-program campaign lasting since March of this year. Some 142 delegates, chosen at 42 OOP [District Party Organization] meetings represented 2,374 combine party members and candidates at the conference.

The decision to participate in the election-program campaign was an expression of a positive assessment of the stabilization of the sociopolitical situation in the Katowice metallurgical plant. The plant conference closed the most difficult period of regeneration of the combine party organization, crushed by the events of 1980-1981. This is a transition from a period of activity in structures and under the management of commission authorities to complete statutory activity.

"The state of war ended the unimpeded activity of the antisocialist groups, but did not restore unity either among the party members nor among the workforces," according to comrade Edward Kowalek, the first secretary of the Plant Committee of the PZPR Plant Committee Executive Council. The fundamental goal of the commission authorities was the ideological and organizational consolidation of the party in the Katowice metallurgical plant. Verification of party rank and file, conversations with all comrades, work on restoring the aktiv and entrusting more and more ambitious party tasks to party members contributed to this.

These activities were accompanied by a stand on principle in the face of a few antisocialist groups. At the same time the party organization went to the workforces with a real program of activity, making it possible to consolidate as large a number of workers as possible who despite ideological differences, were determined to participate in overcoming the economic and sociopolitical crisis.

The fulfillment of the production tasks testifies to progress in the process of rebuilding awareness. Production surpluses were noted in all products in

the 5 months of this year. The plant exports 20 percent of its production. Work productivity has increased 27.7 percent since last year. These facts are an answer to those who have questioned the reasons for the existence of the plant.

An expression of the restoration of bonds with the workforces is the more and more frequent occurrence of workers turning to the party organization with their problems and seeking assistance from the Plant Committee or the OOP. The problem most difficult to solve is the residential one, since the deferment for the second phase of combine construction set housing construction back. At present more than 4,000 workers are waiting for housing. The administration has adopted a number of activities in this area, the realization of which requires the mobilization of economic management, trade unions and public organizations.

The election-program meetings have been another phase in the consolidation of factory organizational unity. Two basic directions were formulated in this action program: improvement in the intraparty work for the purpose of preserving the Marxist nature of the party in the combine and increasing political influence on the workforces for the realization of the tasks of public construction. The need for more extensive ideological work, improvement in the form of party education and activation of party groups were emphasized. Important places in the program were assigned to a current evaluation of the attitudes of party members, a party appraisal of the administration cadre, consolidation in daily contacts, and bonds with workers and the formation of their opinions and attitudes through realization of the resolutions adopted.

The delegate discussions included the problem of improving the style of work so that every party member would feel jointly responsible for the formation of the party program and its realization. They pointed out the need to raise the level of a party meeting, of major importance in fulfilling the resolutions. They strongly emphasized the matter of party organizations taking up the problems which the workforces live with daily. They underscored the great importance of worker participation in party authority.

The economic problems of the metallurgical plant occupied a large part of the statements of the participants. They spoke with concern of the need to restrict useless happenings associated with stopping the construction of some buildings. They criticized symptoms of poor management and waste. In this context they also faced the problem of the plant manager and inventive movements. Many comrades brought up the matter of improving incentive systems. They demanded greater coordination in the work of repair and production departments.

Participating in the conference discussions, the PZPR voivodship committee secretary in Katowice, Marian Rauszer, emphasized that the course of the discussions confirmed the fact that the party organizations had recovered their place in the workforces. Here a great service was performed by comrades who accepted functions in the commission authorities during the most difficult period for the party in the plant. With the permission of the PZPR voivodship committee administration, sincere thanks were extended to comrade Edward



Kowalek and all the comrades who supported him in daily plant party work. Their efforts are a constant contribution to consolidating our party. The new authorities must establish the values developed in this difficult period, following the idea expressed in the discussions, namely that the party will be the leading force if it is accepted by the workers.

In a secret ballot the conference elected a 45-member Plant Committee Plenary Board, a revised Factory Commission and a Party Control Commission. Delegates from among the Plenary Board members assigned by secret ballot the functions of first secretary of the Plant Committee to Comrade Andrzej Tomczewski, a foreman in the medium rolling mill and a member of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Executive Council.

6806

CSO: 2600/1011

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Nationwide Trade Union Organization Planned

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 1 Jul 83 pp 1,2

[Article by rat: "Unionists and Cooperators Are Already Thinking About a General National Organization"]

[Text] (Own information) Yesterday's meeting of 30 representatives from Krakow union organizations and the founding committees of the cooperative committees took place for the purpose of taking action, the first in Krakow, to create a cooperative union structure of a general national character.

Taking part in the meeting were representatives of factories associated in work and handicap cooperatives, and in Chemix chemical cooperatives and Asco leather cooperatives.

The assembled delegates considered what organizational and structural forms the future national cooperative union movement should acquire. During discussion, it was stressed that specific features of cooperation such as the plurality of individuals, enormous variety of industrial branches and professions, a certain distinctness of the handicap cooperative and the cooperative relationship to work make it necessary to create structures within which could be represented the interests of all cooperative members and branches without squandering the organization's strength on minor details. It was emphasized that it is necessary to create a strong organization as well as one that can wield a suitable penetrating force. There were propositions to create a federation of autonomous cooperative branch headquarters and the creation of a structure of a regional, for example, provincial, character. However, the decidedly dominant view was that it is necessary to create one strong, cooperative union movement with preservation of the full autonomy of the particular branches within it.

The representatives established an organizational commission which included representatives of all of the Krakow cooperatives in which the union movement was regenerated and from which a 7-member executive committee was formed. Furthermore, from that group, a 4-member group was formed of unionists that will represent Krakow centrally in work to determine the future form of the general national cooperative movement.

## Organization of Nationwide Unions

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 4 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] Warsaw, PAP. Unionists are announcing the creation of about 40 general national organizations. Of course, this is a fluid number since the decisions on forming supraplant structures are frequently changing and are the result of repeated meetings, heated discussion and the joining and separation of the particular professional communities. If the Council of State gives its agreement in every case, and this is in no way a formal act, it looks like we will have almost twice the number of general national union organizations in this year than what we had last year.

The tendency to create several small relations of the general national organizations within one branch of industry is understandable from a psychological point of view although it may in the future be reflected in the efficiency of activities by these organizations and the entire union movement. This is however a matter which will be decided by the unionist themselves. No one from outside of the movement will be able to impose solutions upon them. Unfortunately, there have been noted some recent efforts to influence the unionists into setting up a federation within the structure of associations, which would be more convenient to management.

## Federation--New Stage of Trade Movement

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 5 Jul 83 p 3

[Interview with Bogdan Kaczmarek by Andrzej Luczak: "Much Depends on Activity of People." Time and place not specified.]

[Text] Much in advance of its original schedule, the union movement has entered a new period of organizational activities. Many trade unions that have already consolidated their positions in their plants are looking for opportunities for broader action on common issues and for influence beyond their geographical regions. For that reason, there has been a considerable quickening of activities to create supraplant union structures.

For more information on organizational work being conducted in connection with the establishment of the Federation of Metalworkers, we turned to the secretary of its Founding Committee, Bogdan Kaczmarek of the Poznan Wiepofama Plant.

[Question] The law on trade unions refers to the possibility of establishing general national union organizations but does not specify what this is supposed to mean. For that reason, the plants are free to choose the form of supraplant organizational structures. Your committee has chosen the federation. Why?

[Answer] The establishment of union organizations in plants is not a guarantee that they will have a part in the life of the nation in the broadest sense of things. Our task is the creation of an organization which will bring the trade unions together while observing the principle of maintaining the legal personality of each of the member organizations and their autonomy and independence. The federation can be this type of organization. Members work together within the federation and observe the basic principles of democracy, equal participation in federation affairs and an equal share in the benefits of its activities. The actions of the federation will be in accordance with the principles of the constitution of the Polish Peoples' Republic and the trade union law. I feel that the federation has the greatest possibilities for consolidating and coordinating the activities of the trade unions and for providing them full representation in the chief organs of the party and state authorities.

[Question] That leads us to the second question: What are the federation's goals and tasks for the near period?

[Answer] The goals and tasks I want to talk about are general and characteristic ones for all of the union movement's organizers. They reflect the most urgent needs and there are many more of them than we can even consider in our current plans. To put it otherwise, we must fully discern social needs and we have to rationally determine the responsibilities we want to take since we have come to the conclusion that we have to realize everything we plan. That is a necessary condition for us to gain social recognition and support. We could, as it was once done, promise many things, create attractive long-term plans and dreamlike visions, but why? I think that it would be much harder today to raise applause with beautiful words. Indeed, all of us do have the same goal but we are aware that it is difficult to achieve. Furthermore, what is needed is arduous, dull and often difficult work which demands changes in thinking and working habits. We can talk about the effects of our work when they are within reach. Empty words and wishful thinking lead us nowhere. The only thing that counts is action.

For that reason, we have prepared and plan to work on three groups of principles. They are:

--Adapting the Work Law to the actual needs and demands of working people inasmuch as during this present period of change which has been introduced by the economic reform, the Labor Code and the regulations of the Work Law have gone unchanged;

--Participating in shaping the nation's social and economic situation by eliminating any sign of poor management and incompetence;

--Creating an appropriate climate for quick and efficient realization of society's housing needs. The federation must also take the role of consultant and shaper of opinions in the fair creation and distribution of national income, in accordance with the conclusions and opinions of its members. By our actions and their positive effects we want to encourage people to work and to cooperate with us. We think that this is the wisest way to gain followers.



[Question] Those are very ambitious tasks and they demand not just intrafederal activities but also cooperation with the state administration, branches of the economy and especially the Sejm, since things such as the changes in the labor laws must be made democratically. Therefore, which means and methods do you wish to adopt for realizing your intentions?

[Answer] In accordance with trade union law, the federation will assure its members of the right to be broadly consulted and participation in the creation of any legal acts and decrees regulating principles that concern working peoples' interests. The federation assures each of its members of the right to express his opinions within the federation. Access to the mass media and participation of federation representatives in the work of autonomous organs and social commissions set up within the state legislative and executive organs are the method for creating an appropriate climate for the further democratization of life in Poland and the free expression of opinions through workers' organizations such as the federation. The federation must assure its members of broad participation in monitoring the observance and execution of decrees and agreements concluded between it and government organs as well as of settlements reached in cooperation with other federations and trade unions. One of the basic issues in this regard is the establishment of universal cooperation with the State Labor Inspectorate.

The federation is obligated to setting up proper commissions to undertake ongoing research and analysis of the costs of living and to aim at providing fair compensation for price increases as well as constant verification of the actual income per family member.

[Question] The work of the Founding Committee, aside from that of outlining its program, is arduous and serious work. Could you tell us a little about the committee's everyday activities?

[Answer] There are 54 members of the Founding Committee who are authorized to represent 392 work establishments from 39 provinces. Thanks to their efforts and participation in numerous meetings and also their personal contacts, the number of followers of our federation is growing systematically. The people on the committee are doing the most difficult work, which is dull and often thankless. They have to explain to the initiators of numerous small federations (and everyone's ambition now is to form a federation) that political strength is in the people and not in small scattered groups. Holding many regional efforts in check is not an easy matter. We have to delineate our areas of competence in such a way as to meet our most general and common expectations and leave individual matters, also important in their sheer volume, to the trade unions.

We are aware that the final results of federation activities are to a large extent dependent on our work. In a way, our work is trail-blazing, often historical activity which are giving a new quality to our nation's union movement. The Poznan region, as the initiator of our federation, has had its own large part in this.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DECREE ON CULTURE MINISTRY ACTIVITY

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 32, 11 Jun 83 pp 462-464 Item 150

[Text] On the basis of Article 6, paragraph 1, of the bill on the office of the minister of culture and art of 4 May 1982 [DZIENNIK USTAW No 14, Item 112] the following is being ordered:

Paragraph 1. The scope of activity of the minister of culture and art covers the following:

(1) in the area of defining directions of cultural policy and means of its execution:

(a) drafting the program frameworks for the development and popularization of culture and art;

(b) defining principles, means, and instruments of the execution of cultural policy;

(c) defining directions of shaping the organizational system of culture and art;

(d) evaluation of the society's cultural needs and availability of cultural goods;

(2) in the area of supporting artistic and literary creativity:

(a) defining principles for performing the function of state patronage over the development of creativity;

(b) creating necessary conditions for creative work;

(c) defining the principles of material and welfare protection of creators through joint agreements with the ministers of labor, wages, and social affairs as well as of finance;

(d) bestowing awards for outstanding creative and artistic achievements and nominating creators for state decorations and awards;

- (3) in the area of artistic, stage, and entertainment activity:
  - (a) defining general directions of the programmatic-artistic activities of theaters, music institutions, stage ensembles, and circuses as well as making comprehensive analyses and evaluations of these activities;
  - (b) issuing permits for public artistic and entertainment activity;
- (4) in the area of fine arts and fine arts exhibitions:
  - (a) taking action to increase participation of contemporary fine arts in visual shaping of environment and in national economy;
  - (b) defining principles of organization and activity of artistic supervision;
  - (c) defining principles of organization of fine arts exhibitions and popularization of fine arts;
  - (d) defining principles of issuing permits for establishment and management of contemporary art galleries;
- (5) in the area of cinematography:
  - (a) defining directions of program policy with regard to production and distribution of films;
  - (b) coordinating production and distribution of films outside the ministry of culture and art;
  - (c) supervising execution of program and repertoire policy with regard to production and distribution of films;
  - (d) issuing permits for production of films outside the ministry of culture and art with the exception of films produced at the Polish Committee for Radio and Television;
  - (e) supervising execution of imports and exports of cinematographic films in accordance with the cultural policy--exclusively, but with regard to trade exchange with abroad in cooperation with the minister of foreign trade;
  - (f) presenting Polish film art abroad;
- (6) in the area of publishing, book trade, libraries, and readership:
  - (a) defining directions of publishing policy;
  - (b) drafting and presenting the state publishing plan to the Council of Ministers;
  - (c) supervising and coordinating the execution of publishing plans;

- (d) issuing permits for conducting publishing activities on the basis of separate regulations;
- (e) supervising activities of public libraries;
- (f) coordinating activities of the national library network;
- (g) sponsoring activities to develop book trade and popularize book reading;
- (h) defining principles for issuing permits to run book stores and antiquaries;
- (7) in the area of printing, music, and record industries:
  - (a) evaluating conformity of the state enterprises' activity directions with the directions of the state cultural policy;
  - (b) issuing permits for printing and recording activities on the basis of separate regulations;
- (8) in the area of creating conditions for popularization of creative work and of protection of the rights of the creators and performers:
  - (a) taking actions aimed at securing material, technical, and organizational conditions for popularization of creative work;
  - (b) initiating and coordinating work with regard to copyright and protection of the rights of performers;
  - (c) representing the interests of Polish creators and artists in the world system of protection of intellectual property;
- (9) in the area of securing the right to participate in cultural life to various social and professional environments:
  - (a) sponsoring activities, enabling access to culture and art;
  - (b) cooperating with sociocultural associations and organizations of recipients of cultural goods in order to raise the level of fulfillment of the society's cultural needs;
  - (c) defining jointly with the minister of finance the principles of financing unprofitable cultural goods and services from the Culture Development Fund;
- (10) in the area of creating conditions for the development of culture popularization centers:
  - (a) taking actions aiming at securing material, technical, and organizational conditions for the development of culture popularization centers;



- (b) coordinating activities of the national network of culture houses and clubs and other culture popularization centers;
- (c) defining directions of professional development for employees of culture popularization centers;
- (11) In the area of development of social cultural and artistic movement:
  - (a) supporting the development of various fields of amateur artistic activity;
  - (b) providing program assistance to social cultural movement centers and amateur groups;
  - (c) supporting the development of the social cultural movement and regional cultural associations;
- (12) in the areas of protection of cultural goods, museums, folk culture, and art crafts:
  - (a) drafting programs for protection of cultural goods, development of museums, and renovation of historical cities and old city quarters;
  - (b) supervising activities of the voivodship historical sites administrators and of museums;
  - (c) approving documentation with regard to the maintenance of sites included in the list of world historical sites and kept under direct supervision of the minister of culture and art;
  - (d) coordinating matters related to record-keeping and documentation of historical sites;
  - (e) supporting the development of folk culture and art, folk and artistic creativity, and art crafts;
- (13) in the areas of art schools and education in the fields of culture and art:
  - (a) drafting development programs for art schooling, its structure and principle of functioning;
  - (b) supervising higher art schools, art schools of I and II category, and other centers of art education;
  - (c) defining directions of education as well as teaching plans and programs;
  - (d) supervising schools of library science and of cultural-educational teaching institutions;
- (14) in the area of cultural education of children and youth:

(a) defining jointly with the minister of education and upbringing and the minister for the youth affairs the directions of cultural education of children and youth;

(b) cooperating with the minister of education and upbringing in drafting programs, organizations, and methods of teaching art at schools, supervised by that minister;

(15) in the areas of popularization of Polish culture abroad and of cooperation with abroad in culture and art in association with the minister of foreign affairs:

(a) drafting principles, forecasts, programs, and guidelines for cultural cooperation and exchange with abroad;

(b) negotiating and signing international agreements with regard to cultural cooperation with abroad and supervising their execution;

(c) popularization abroad of Polish cultural achievements and presenting cultural achievements of other countries to the Polish people;

(d) coordinating activities in the field of cooperation with abroad including cultural cooperation with the Poles abroad;

(e) performing organizational functions with regard to the participation of Polish representatives in international organizations, foreign cultural institutions, international cultural conferences and events as well as organizing such conferences and events at home.

Paragraph 2.1. The minister of culture and art within the scope of tasks specified in paragraph 1:

(1) participates in the preparation of drafts of the national socio-economic plans and other national plans;

(2) drafts the principles, forecasts, and programs for the development of culture and art;

(3) defines the principles of shaping the territorial structure of cultural institutions;

(4) undertakes activities, aiming at securing development of the material-technical base of culture;

(5) prepares drafts and issues legal acts in the fields of culture and art;

(6) initiates and creates conditions for carrying out research related to the execution of the said tasks as well as supervises the implementation of results of that research;

(7) supervises training of the artistic cadre and presents suggestions for other qualified cadres needed in the cultural sector;

(8) grants--on the basis of separate regulations--certifications for professions in the fields under his supervision;

(9) evaluates and presents suggestions with regard to employment and wage policies and cooperates with the minister of labor, wages, and social affairs in the area of proper placement and utilization of cadres as well as shapes the policy of personnel training and development, assists in personnel training, and evaluates the management group;

(10) participates in shaping the price policy for cultural goods;

(11) supervises trade in cultural goods--on the basis of separate regulations;

(12) participates in shaping economic-financial and tax systems for art institutions and culture popularization centers as well as analyzes their effectiveness;

(13) establishes directions of the investment policy with regard to culture and art;

(14) coordinates cooperation of the subordinate organizational units with social, cooperative, and trade union organizations;

(15) evaluates working conditions, living conditions, and benefits of creators and cultural workers as well as take actions to improve them;

(16) executes defense tasks as well as fire protection tasks, which are defined in separate regulations;

(17) undertakes other actions necessary for the realization of the tasks entrusted to him.

2.2 The minister of culture and art supervises activities of enterprises and other organizational units in the framework defined by separate regulations

2.3 The minister of culture and art supervises certification and performance of units of the socialized economy and of other legal and physical persons, which obtained--on the basis of separate regulations--permits from the minister of culture and art to carry out activities in the fields of culture and art.

Paragraph 3.1. The minister of culture and art in the performance of his tasks cooperates with other top, central, and local organs of state administration as well as with social representatives of the creators, cultural associations, and social, cooperative, and trade union organizations, whose statutory activities are related to the scope of his activities.

3.2 The minister of culture and art in cooperation with the top, central and local organs of state administration as well as with the social, cooperative, and trade union organizations:

- (1) submits proposals on the forms of activities, aiming at the execution of the cultural policy;
- (2) drafts proposals of joint undertakings in the fields of culture and art which combine activities of various ministries, institutions, and organizations as well as coordinates and supervises their execution;
- (3) prepares and submits to the Council of Ministers suggestions and drafts of legal acts with regard to defining the policies of the state in the fields of culture and art;
- (4) submits suggestions concerning the development of production of machinery, technical facilities, and equipment for the organizational units, operating in the fields of culture and art;
- (5) evaluates:
  - (a) parts of socioeconomic plans, prepared by other ministers, and construction plans, related to culture and art;
  - (b) culture development programs prepared by the local state administrative organs at the voivodship level;
  - (c) principles and process of drafting long-term and yearly socioeconomic plans in the fields of culture and art;
  - (d) principles of establishing the localization of constructions, which endanger historical city sites;
  - (e) renovation plans for cities and historical complexes;
  - (f) protection plans for valuable natural creations and areas of particular natural and scenic values existing in combination with historical sites or cultural goods;
  - (g) principles of utilization of cultural objects for tourist purposes;
  - (h) programs, organization, and methods of teaching art and subjects related to culture and art in schools of all types and categories subordinated to other ministers;
  - (i) programs of paper production development for publishing purposes;
  - (j) programs of support for art and literary creativity in radio and television;
  - (k) directions and principles of presenting culture and art by means of radio, television, printed media, and book and press clubs;
  - (l) directors for popularization of culture;
  - (t) programs of development for industrial art;



(m) plans of establishment, development, and closing of cultural institutions as well as programs for localization of cultural institutions;

(n) drafts of topical plans of books and record publishers.

3.3 The minister of culture and art in cooperation with the top, central and local organs of state administration as well as cooperative, social, and trade union organizations, and associations in the areas of cultural cooperation and exchange with abroad evaluates:

(1) directions and principles of their activities in the areas of culture and art in their relations with abroad;

(2) drafts of plans of cultural cooperation and exchange with abroad;

(3) drafts of plans of trade exchange in cultural goods with abroad.

3.4 The minister of culture and art in cooperation with social representatives of creators' environments, cultural associations, activists in the area of culture as well as representatives of science:

(1) secures their participation in the activities of the consultative organs of the minister of culture and art and specialized councils, attached to the minister of culture and art;

(2) consults them in the process of drafting a law and in other matters of importance to culture;

(3) analyses and utilizes their suggestions during preparation of culture development programs;

(4) establishes the forms and means of execution of joint tasks of the organs of the state administration, creators, research scientists, and activists in the area of culture.

Paragraph 4. The minister of culture and art also performs other tasks defined in other regulations.

Paragraph 5. The decree becomes effective on the day of its announcement.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers: Army Gen W. Jaruzelski

8609

CSO: 2600/1111

DAILY CONDUCTS SURVEY ON MARTIAL LAW, NEW LEGISLATION

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 25 Jul 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Marek Ryczkowski: "Time To Shake Hands and Live in Unity"]

[Text] We have behind us events expected surely by all Poles. No one should be surprised by them. During the memorable pronouncement of 13 December 1981, General Jaruzelski announced that martial law will not last even a day longer than will be necessary. The Council of State lifted martial law, the Sejm put into force a bundle of laws that are not without connection with this most important decision. What is thought in Polish homes about the effects of the 2-day debate of the Sejm? Here are views collected by our correspondents.

Janusz Grudzienski (26 years old)--lathe operator at the Polar mechanized home appliance factory in Wroclaw:

I received the lifting of martial law with great relief. Of course I do not think that from this moment everything will change at once for the better, that all troubles will disappear, that economic problems will be resolved. However, this decision creates hope for the normalization of relations in the country. Many people, especially the young, were embittered by the situation up to now, discouraged. After the declaration of martial law, it seemed to them their hopes and possibility for action were cancelled. In his speech during the Sejm deliberations, General Jaruzelski brought to mind that "that this is after all our country, that there are already enough hateful glances, that it is time to shake hands and live in unity."

And this is the only way out, the only chance for us. If we continue to be at odds, we will never get anywhere, we will never achieve anything. I know that many unnecessary things happened during this period. For some people this is hard to forget. But, after all, proof that the situation in the country is becoming normalized is the bill concerning amnesty. I think this is a very humanitarian act enabling many people to return to normal life in society.

The bill concerning special legal regulation in the period up to 1985 favors in turn conditions necessary for full normalization of social and economic

life in the crisis period. It pleases me that more effective means will be used against social parasites, employing persons avoiding work in those sectors where there is too little help, and using, instead of fines, obligatory work for public purposes. It is also necessary to introduce methods limiting the fluctuations of personnel in enterprises of special importance for our economy, making sure that during this period when so many goods are lacking on the market, all factories fully use their production capacity.

Essential for many of the more poorly-salaried families are those points of the bill which concern the authorization of the cabinet to introduce prohibition against the raising of prices and to establish permissible rates for the rise of prices.

Agnieszka Jozefacka--student of the Agricultural Academy of Lublin:

For me the lifting of martial law and the adoption of the bill concerning amnesty is a sign not only that peace and law and order reign in the country, that the time of stormy often dramatic manifestations and protests have ended. I think that the undertaking of such decisions by the Council of State and the Sejm was possible thanks to the advancing unity and understanding of the Polish people. This national unity concerning the future of the state and the country, the unity of the Polish people in activity for solving the various economic and social problems that are making our everyday life more difficult, is for me the most important matter.

Jacek Korczynski--foreman at the Umontex Defenders of Peace Factory in Lodz:

The process of normalization advancing in our country, the effect of which are the parliamentary bills, should finish the period of unrest and stagnation. Together with the lifting of martial law, we ought to return to normality in all spheres of life, though, it is necessary to admit, that in many cases such a situation has prevailed for some time. Also other decisions of the Sejm clearly serve to improve the atmosphere in the country. Constitutional guarantees of the national movement of the whole society such as PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] as well as the guaranteeing of the inviolability of the peasant economy clearly indicate this. Also the meetings and conferences of the youth, taking place as it were on a double track (along with the parliamentary work) ought to bring the effect of quickening normalization. It is a well known fact after all that the role of youth in the life of the country is colossal, but the question is its proper use. I think that we are on the right road to become again normal, peaceful country, which will cease to be spoken of in the world only in the context of sensational news reports.

Franciszek Dakus--technician at the Dabrowszczak Naval Shipyard in Gdynia:

I think this was a very important meeting of the Sejm. Some problems are very strongly stressed, for example, the range of the proportion of work, lengthening the time of work to 46 hours a week. I think that it is essential, not only for the state, but also for us, for each citizen. This will help in escaping the crisis, but under the condition that all departments will agree

to additional work. However, the government, undertaking such decisions, must secure materials so that production will go forward evenly.

The next essential matter is limiting the fluctuation of personnel. If the government has a program for overcoming the crisis by the end of 1985, it of course should have the possibility of influencing personnel. However, the restriction of the activity of workers councils awakens concern, which clashes with the assumptions of the reform. I do not know whether the central leadership foresaw the results of this. I support the recognition of the authorization of the cabinet for the establishment of stipulated prices dictated by enterprises. For us, this is the point. Presently enterprises will have to administer themselves better. I also lived to see the recognition of the authorization of the WRN [voivodship people's councils] and the administration in matters regarding people avoiding work. I think that it is time to send them to work and it is well that the Sejm took this up in its deliberations.

As far as the change of the constitution of the PRL is concerned, I think too often we place entries there which after a few years may become outdated. Today there is PRON, and who knows what there will be in the future?

Andrzej Galujewicz, worker in the main mechanics division of the Pokoj Foundry in Ruda Slask:

With great interest I watched the course of the 2-day deliberations of the Sejm, because this meeting was momentous; the bills and decisions made by the Upper Chamber are important. Now that martial law has been lifted a great deal of intensive, and above all, well-organized and sensible work is waiting for us. The awareness of the changes that have come about in Poland has been very helpful in this. Much was said about this in the Sejm, and it also found its reflection in decisions, in changes in the constitution of the PRL, in a bill concerning the system of national councils and territorial self-government together with a special legal regulation in the process of overcoming the crisis. It is well such decisions were made which above all, I think, are supposed to assure compliance with social law and order and justice at all levels and in every situation. Such a sense of real justice has been lacking in recent years. Self-governing organs gained an important trump card, enabling them to truly administer, undertake decisions and make bills which must be observed. Just as in the present difficult situation all norms of work must be observed in order for the cavalierness of individual persons and groups not to appear, because every free interpretation of the required rules causes a mess. An economic mess, after all, is our biggest enemy.

People must understand that our present situation does not allow for petty settling of accounts, for pointing out past mistakes. It is necessary to get vigorously to work, to require a lot from ourselves and from our coworkers, without tolerance for idlers, and without mutual antagonisms.

Jolanta Stachowiak, fitter at the Lumel Lubusko electric apparatus factory in Zielona Gora:



In the present situation in general I was not conscious martial law existed, so its lifting does not change my life in any respect. This simply has not affected the majority of us for months. I believe, however, that the atmosphere in the society will improve; it is high time for everyone to return to a normal life. This visit of Pope John Paul II not long ago contributed in a certain sense to the relief of tension in the country.

I doubt, however, that besides the improvement of the atmosphere immediate improvement in the lives of each of us will follow. Life is still hard for people and will not get better at once. Maybe if more people employed in the administration took up work directly in production it would be a little better.

Commentary from abroad connected with the lifting of martial law will surely be varied. It was thought in the West that it would not happen so quickly. Some states look on reluctantly at the advancing process of the normalization of life in Poland. I think that we will reach an understanding in the end and internal peace will be maintained.

Marek Kaczorowski, switchman at the Poznan junction of the PKP [Polish State Railways]:

The lifting of martial law has been foretold for some time, but despite this, the final resolution of this fact by the cabinet made a great impression on perhaps everybody. After all, the most dramatic period in postwar Polish history was ended. The heart of the matter, however, does not lie only in this type of historical, spectacular move. For me personally the manner in which martial law was lifted is important. Because frankly speaking I not only expected its end with impatience but equally I had fears whether with the ceasing of martial law we would not return to the complex situation overgrown with social conflicts of pre-December. And here the Sejm positively shocked surely everyone, undertaking legal decisions which, while liquidating the results of martial law, at the same time do not permit the return of those negative phenomena which caused it. The confirmation of this observation is particularly exemplified by the decisions of the Sejm introducing amnesty, but not unconditional amnesty, not acting automatically, but so conceived as to serve humanitarian purposes and not the political purposes of the opposition.

The second most important event of recent days is, in my opinion, the introduction into the constitution of, among other things, the entry concerning individual peasant property. I am emphasizing this fact because too often much is said among us about the need for breaking economic barriers while we also have equally as much to do in the sphere of social relations. If we want to escape from the economic crisis, we have to make changes in the ways of thinking and attitudes of people. And this goal is served by just this "peasant entry." With the vital perspective so delineated, with a sense of stabilization and security in their state of ownership, peasants will farm differently, will think of the land without the fear that they may lose it.

Wieslaw Celencewicz, senior deck fisherman on the training-industrial ship "Admiral Arciszewski" belonging to the Gryf PPD1UR [Deep-Sea Fishing and Fishing Services Enterprise]:

In my opinion the most significant event is the lifting of martial law. Restrictions which were brought along with it were not without influence on our youth. The youth cut themselves off from the world of adults, shrank within themselves, on the one hand as if they had become indifferent, on the other they manifested in the most various of ways aversion toward everything and everybody. Now in normal conditions it will surely be easier to reach the young, to communicate with them, "to win" them over to adult society. Maybe martial law should have been lifted earlier? There were delicate situations, that is true, but martial law caused a certain devastation in the minds of youth. This whole abnormal situation introduced a greyness in our lives. It is as difficult to relax, difficult to be optimistic. Upgrading the standing of PRON is advisable, but the people who find themselves in PRON must, indeed, act, and work; pronouncements of deputies on this subject were promising. However, we will see what the future will bring. In any case my feeling is this Sejm debate brought a forecast for a more peaceful life in the country.

Jerzy Szczepanski, lathe hand in the Falubaz Lubusko cotton carding machine factory in Zielona Gora:

I think that farmers, in comparison with other people of work, do, in fact, have many conveniences. I understand very well the need for improving the food situation in the country, all actions connected with this problem are justified. I also agree that everyone who is at all able ought to help agriculture, but if in truth the constitution must guarantee the family ownership of the individual farms, that I would venture to doubt. The National Unity Front does not presently have the support of the society. PRON gained for itself recognition in some circles. There are people in Poland who have trust in this movement and they seek in it a chance for themselves and Poland. Besides, this movement is less exclusive, better represents the interests of the majority, and reaches out to people. The function and the activity of PRON, therefore, had to be sanctioned by law. If PRON is to present candidates for deputies and councils in the future, then I cannot imagine that this matter would not be guaranteed in the constitution. I think that the proper and convenient moment for calling off martial law has come. People have anticipated this with impatience, certainly many Poles heaved a sigh of relief. Calling off martial law along with the announcement of amnesty constitutes the next step by the party and the government on the road to national understanding. Many people became interned after the imposition of martial law through their own stupidity. This surely will contribute to improving trust between the leadership and the society.

I am also counting on the fact that after the lifting of martial law the position of Poland in the world will grow. Perhaps the economic sanctions of western countries will be lifted, and this in turn will contribute to better working of the whole economy.

Andrzej Musiol (31 years old), department head for materials control at the Walbrzych coke factory:

Changes in the constitution of the PRL made at least plenary meeting of the Sejm were assuredly necessary and fulfilled the expectations of the majority of the society. They proved that our representative-deputies are holding their fingers to the pulse of events. They are able to evaluate it properly and draw conclusions from the facts which life brings. This concerns to the full extent, for example, the first of the changes, the constitutional defining of the role and the position of PRON, which slowly, but systematically, is "gaining ground" and ever more citizens are convinced by it. But this is a process. Let us not require that the events which have been taking place in our country since August of 1980 will not leave traces in people's awareness. Everything requires time which will allow for an objective assessment of many matters. PRON is working and will be working, and that is why it must find reflection in such an important document as the constitution of the PRL. The National Unity Front, despite unquestionable achievements, could not--especially in the last few months--convince everybody. So the changes sanctioning the new situation were necessary.

Stefan Malec (24 years old), railway employee at the PKP junction in Lublin:

For me and my friends the most important matter is not the lifting of martial law or amnesty, because after all at any minute, if the need arose, the government could again restore martial law. We talked about this with friends and we agree that everything depends on how we Poles, with whatever reason and political realism, will peacefully use these new conditions not for quarrels and deepening divisions, but for shared actions for a better future of the country and nation. We are young people; the premier in his speech to the Sejm appealed at a certain moment precisely to us, the young. We understand that a lot here depends on our young generation. Either we will continue to quarrel, to undermine, to accuse, or we will stand in one line, because this is necessary, because this is dictated to us by our reason, the good of the state, an interest in our future. I think in this we do not have an alternative. Poland has us, we have Poland.

The decisions of the PRL Sejm, the lifting of martial law by the State Council, brought out general relief and at the same time hope for the further normalization of the situation in our country. The dominating opinion is that the proper moment was chosen. Slow, though systematic relief of social tensions, better working of the economy, gaining by PRON ever greater alliance circles, in a word, building national accord, were the main circumstances for our parliament's passing of the already well known bill. Changes in the constitution were received with satisfaction, especially the legal regulation of the great power that PRON had become and the "peasant entry." The latter created legal guarantees for stability. The producers of bread and meat may with peace intensify efforts to feed the nation as quickly as possible.

It was also emphasized that the coming into force of the act of grace, that is amnesty, is a confirmation of the will of the party and the government for the further normalization of the situation in the country. This is a humanitarian decision, but at the same time allows only those who decided to cut themselves off from activities serving the interests of our enemies to return to normal work and life.

The economy, as is known, has caught its breath. It is still, however, far from normal, rhythmical work. Hence Polish homes approach some specific legal regulations meant to put an end to shirking, fluctuations, and irresponsibility with understanding. The country must escape from the crisis as quickly as possible. Everyone is waiting for this and it is necessary to create conditions for this.

Attention had been paid in statements repeatedly to the role of the young generation in building a just, democratic, abundant state. "Time to shake hands and live in unity."

On the basis of statements collected by: Andrzej Basinski, Anna Dulemba, Ewa Krupczynska, Przemyslaw Rejer, Bronislaw Redzioch, Krzysztof Rozycki and Lech Tylutki; compiled by Marek Ryczkowski.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Party Formation of Socialist Consciousness

Bydgoszcz GAZETA PMORSKA in Polish 7 Jun 83 pp 1,2

[Article by: (bur)]

[Text] Yesterday the PZPR Provincial Committee deliberated in Bydgoszcz. The topic of discussion at the plenary session and at the four problem-solving group sessions concerned the tasks of the provincial party organization in formulation of a socialist social consciousness. The KW First Secretary, Henryk Bednarski chaired the sessions, and also presented a KW Executive Board report which evaluated the provincial sociopolitical situation.

Session participants included Jan Glowczyk, deputy Politburo member; Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the Central Committee Ideological Department; provincial political party, and social organization representatives as well as administrative officials, political aktiv officials from many areas and factories and PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] delegates and journalists.

Henryk Bednarski stated in the KW Executive Board report that the implementation of martial law created conditions which limited the influence of antisocialist forces insofar as social consciousness and gradual reversal of the damage caused during the 1 1/2 years of overt activity were concerned. Currently, the party is the initiator and the motivational force behind a majority of improvements in public, political and economic life. It is also open to all proposals from outside the party insofar as they further the restoration of the national situation and national understanding.

The restoration of the party's authority and credibility and its initiation of reform through various attempts at weakening the opposition does not find support among the workers (since 13 January 1981, 5 small printing shops were closed down in Bydgoszcz province, and 15,400 illegal leaflets and 970 brochures were confiscated).

The KW Executive Board feels that the current situation cannot be treated as entirely stable and normal. In recent years, there have been vivid examples

of mass resentment toward capitalism, disrespect for socialism, consumption-type lifestyle, and attempts at enriching oneself despite all elementary ethical norms which state otherwise. All this has left a significant impression upon the psyche of part of society.

According to H. Bednarski, the current social consciousness is heterogeneous and complex, and is not only a result of recent years but also of the many processes which Poland experienced during its history. Our party played a commendable role in this history, a fact one sometimes forgets, and this was made possible by the party's marxist-leninist ideology, its revolutionary traditions, and its proletarian character. Recalled to mind again at the PZPR Central Committee 12th Plenum was the fact that the establishment of the party's proletarian character represents our principal task.

Subsequently, the KW first secretary determined that currently the provincial party organization totals 81,000 members and candidate members. Workers constitute 44 percent and together with the peasants 53 percent of the total. A positive phenomenon is the fact that the number of new party members and workers is growing. Since the beginning of last year 592 persons have joined and 259 have joined since January 1983.

H. Bednarski emphasized that we must be patient in regaining worker support and trust. Many especially the young found themselves under the influence of demagogic tendencies and lost faith in concern for their interests in a socialist nation. It is necessary to restore this belief and demonstrate in everyday practice that our party is worker-oriented not in name only. Party echelons and basic party organizations are obligated to form close ties with the working class, with nonparty workers, and in support of workers' organizations. Broad consultation is indispensable in all important decisions.

The KW first secretary emphasized that the success of the reform depends largely upon the public's attitudes. It slowly extinguishes the hatred and antagonism which comes about from various political beliefs and philosophies. Party initiative meets with positive public reaction more frequently, however, one cannot ignore the determined opposition. There are still individuals who are susceptible to its slogans, and this is demonstrated by the countermarch organized in Bydgoszcz on 1 May, the 3 May demonstrations in the city, and attempts in some of the factories to boycott the new trade unions.

In building national understanding, one must not be impatient with the undecided individuals and those who are not enemies of socialism. We must be party members not only at POP meetings but at all times. Quite a few colleagues still do not attach great importance to their knowledge concerning political life, but are susceptible to gossip, and are fascinated by certain phenomena. Bad practices by some POPs include the use of reduced rates in ideological matters relating to their members, and the failure to protect the POP's position in the region.

H. Bednarski noted that the political battle is proceeding with particular acuteness in the educational, upbringing, and cultural spheres. We have also noticed this in our province. The situation is complex in the schools and

colleges, and is caused by some of the teachers. We must be critical of the behavior of some of the clergy, as what do notorious antigovernment sermons preached in church have in common with understanding and unification, or the fact that on several occasions the parish was the rallying point for those groups calling for street demonstrations.

A plenary discussion followed the KW first secretary's speech, and it was noted that the most important current party tasks involve the shaping of the socialist social consciousness. It was stressed that we must concern ourselves with raising the ideological and political levels of party members, among other things, through an improvement in political schooling. Work with candidate members and new members continues to represent a weakness in many POPs. It is necessary to establish the conditions for schooling, specifically through the establishment of factory cultural and information centers. More attention must be devoted to the growth of Marxist philosophy and worldly ethics.

The party must strengthen the reform and exhibit indissoluble ties between employment and the standard of living, and to concern itself with giving this principle a true shape. Special attention must be devoted to the accomplishment of the anti-inflationary and resource conservation programs. Roman Golinski, director of the PKS in Inowroclaw and PZPR Central Committee member, Bernard Gliszczynski PGR [State Farms] worker in Chojnice, Bronislaw Ratus, Dean of the Teacher's College in Bydgoszcz, and Zdzislaw Miklaszewski, a teacher at the LO in Strelno discussed this.

Discussion participants developed the thesis presented by Andrzej Grochowski, a ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops] ironworker from Bydgoszcz, that the quality of party organization activity upon the labor force and the public is determined by the ideological-educational status of party activity, the knowledge, courage and attitudes of the colleagues themselves. R. Golinski noted that a relatively small number of the enterprise, institute, and administrative leadership cadre still participate in POP activities, their unwilling attitude toward the economic and social reforms, and occasional disregard for matters of interest to the public arouses distrust as to the intentions of the party and government leadership. The POP and PZPR local echelons must be aware of this phenomenon.

Zbigniew Krezalowski, an actor with the Polish Theater in Bydgoszcz, and a PZPR CKR [Central Review Commission] member noted that we are too concerned about certain leaders in the creative arts who achieved what they wanted through the Central Committee and today are in opposition. At the same time we ignore the majority of the representatives of these groups who carry out their tasks. Too little attention is paid, insofar as the nation's cultural policy is concerned, to those who consider boycott yet continue to create. The central press organs have almost altogether forgotten about them, especially about the so-called local artists.

A discussion then ensued in the four problem-solving groups. In group I party organization tasks concerning the formation of socialist worker consciousness were discussed; in the second--POP tasks dealing with the formation of rural

consciousness; in group III, party tasks dealing with the formation consciousness in the educational, upbringing, and cultural sectors; and in group IV, the tasks of local press organs in formation of socialist social consciousness.

In group I, 13 speakers took the stand stressing the need to convince the workers that the current crisis is not a crisis of socialism, but a result of the distortion of socialism, and that the Ninth PZPR Congress formulated a realistic program for surmounting the political, social, and economic crisis, and gave the party a statute which when incorporated will protect the reform from repeated mistakes. POPs should direct their attention to the current socialist content of the worker self-management resolutions, support trade unions in their activities benefiting workers, activate factory education and information dissemination cells, assure worker participation and the accomplishment of their own resolutions.

Group II emphasized that not all the rural POPs were carrying out their statute obligations. Therefore, today the removal of stagnation in many rural POPs represents one of the primary tasks of the aktiv. It is necessary to mobilize the entire rural intelligentsia for social work, and strive for a consistent accomplishment of those programs which concern agricultural policy. Rural POPs should support youth and women's organizations, and rural self-management groups in their social tasks. Higher demands should be placed upon the leadership cadre in the gminas and rural service organizations. Assistance should be extended to farmers clubs and to Ruch clubs. Eight colleagues participated in the discussions.

Eleven colleagues participated in the group III discussions, and stressed the necessity for the restoration of POP authority in the intelligentsia circles. The need was noted for the formation of a uniform educational front in the schools and colleges together with the youth and their parents. The group indicated that it is not possible to reconcile oneself with the passiveness of certain educators, nor at times with the opposition activities. It is necessary to enhance the educational, upbringing, and cultural base by assisting the teachers in obtaining all their certifications. The constant examination of attitudes and views in the youth and cultural circles is indispensable, as is the school allocation of more social subjects.

Group IV agreed with the positive evaluation of the Bydgoszcz press and radio in its dialogue with the public. Among other things, the party journalism in Gazeta, the social journalism in DZIENNIK WIECZORNY, and radio broadcasts devoted to the rural sector were highly acclaimed. In order to better utilize the potential of the press and radio it is necessary to be concerned with the practical and political training of new journalists who have recently entered into the field. Nine colleagues participated in the discussion, and J. Glowczyk responded to many questions and suggestions.

The results of the group discussions were presented at the PZPR Provincial Committee plenary session.

Jan Glowczyk, deputy Politburo member and Central Committee secretary also participated in the plenary discussion. He noted that the severe devastation



in social consciousness is not only a consequence of the extremist policy of the former Solidarity union and of current opposition, but also because of the errors committed through the social and economic policies of the 1970's. At the time satisfaction was obtained through a semblance of social consciousness. The greatest danger for the party and for society is to live in a world of fantasy.

J. Glowczyk stressed that tremendous patience is essential in the formation of social consciousness. It is easier to build new factories than to bring about radical changes in social consciousness. One must be patient in the fight with the erroneous economic consciousness imposed by the opposition. A continual return to marxist-leninist origins is necessary in this battle.

According to J. Glowczyk, the opposition's fantasies concerning the seizing of power and establishment of a new order are nothing more than expectations for a Third World War. The opposition very readily bandies about the term "collaboration," while it collaborates with opposing groups in the West and accomplishes their goals in our country.

KW First Secretary, Henryk Bednarski in closing the session determined that by dealing with the issues concerning the formation of social consciousness, the provincial echelon became aware of their complexity and conditions, and realized that not all the questions have been answered. Above all, it concerns the assignment of tasks to the party cells today and in the near future.

Bednarski emphasized that with this plenary session we wish to begin our preparations for the upcoming Central Committee party plenum devoted to ideological issues. The KW first secretary paid tribute to the lecturers and others carrying out the ideological schooling. Their number has grown recently, and their efforts at educating the party membership are becoming more evident. The fact is, however, that this education should not only be used for purposes of internal discussion, but to enrich party activities in individual sectors.

The plenum ended with the singing of the Internationale.

#### Czestochowa Plenum on Class Interest

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 14 Jun 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Leszek Figiel]

[Text] Yesterday's PZPR Provincial Committee plenary session in Czestochowa was devoted to a more effective realization of the Ninth PZPR Congress resolution concerning the overcoming of the pathological phenomena in the region.

The Ninth PZPR Congress censured the antisocialist phenomena which created this serious crisis. The congress defined the vision of a reborn and just Poland whose practical principle will be represented by the equitable distribution of our joint production effort, and work will constitute the basis of wealth and no one will be able to live off the work of others.

The guarantee of social justice is one of the postulates indissolubly linked with socialism and included in the laws and programs of all marxist-leninist workers' parties.

The PZPR Provincial Committee in Czestochowa considers the battle for social justice and the elimination of the phenomena of social pathology among its primary tasks. According to KW colleague, Henryk Jaderko, it treats this as an expression of the protection of the workers' class interests. Tasks in this field were marked out at the PZPR Provincial reporting-electoral conference. In the program developed, the tasks concerning the problems involved in observance of the principles of social justice were given primacy. Thus one notes the interest and honesty with which the party echelons, institutions, and those organizations concerned with observance of the law have approached the issue of the elimination of occurrences of law abuses. Although crisis conditions serve as a natural medium for activization by those who want to obtain wealth through illegal means or by speculation, the consequences of the battle with the phenomena of social pathology appear to be more effective. Specific words of recognition should go to the men in green and blue; work by operational military groups has also brought about specific objective results and public recognition. The MO [Citizens' Militia] organ has stepped up its efforts in order to fight crimes which are based on the nonrecognition of the principles of justice. In the last 4 months, the MO has undertaken the investigation of 2,382 crimes.

As is apparent from the discussion, the success of the MO, the specialized supervisory organizations, and public organizations is ever increasing. Inspectors of the State Treasury disclosed irregularities and abuses totaling many millions in certain socialized factories in Czestochowa, Klobuck and Myszkowo. Underreporting of income by private individuals totaling over 60 million zlotys were uncovered. The State Trade Inspectorate uncovered irregularities in 218 units out of over 1,200 which were under investigation. Between January and April, 229 various antispeculative activities were carried out, and as a result 420 individuals involved in speculation and illegal trade were uncovered.

The figure is high--over 70 percent, and the detection of the guilty is a result of not only better work on the part of institutions concerned but also because of a change in social conditions. Over 2 years ago there were frequent occurrences where obvious crime investigations were either impossible or were suppressed. At that time, the opposition attempted to cover up many abuses with a political screen.

Inspection-type activities, the battle with social pathology phenomena, and economic abuse brought about measurable results, especially in surmounting speculation, illegal trade, and excessive and illegal wealth. As a result of revisionist activities exclusively in the nonsocialized sector, over 840 million zlotys were brought into the State Treasury.

The crisis situation in the nation caused the working class to grow sensitive to all social injustices. The need thus evolved for the establishment of general public fronts for surmounting social pathology, law abuses, and moral

norms, however, it is not only the specialized institutions and organizations which are concerned with this. Universal support is needed by the investigative and justice administration organs.

Participants in the broad discussion included: Marian Sedzielwski, chairman of the WKKP [Voivodship Party Control Committee]; Bogumil Kolsut, director of the State Treasury; Wieslaw Szydowski, deputy commander of the provincial MO; Zdislaw Kowalczyk, deputy director of the KW PZPR Political Administrative Department; Edward Lizon, a worker at the Rudniki Cement Works; Jan Lemanski, PZPR KM [City Committee] secretary in Czestochowa; Wieslaw Karon, chairman of the Council for Provincial Government Criminal Matters; Albert Stefanowski, POP first secretary of the Czestochowa railroad junction; Marian Bubel, POP first secretary in the Myszkowo Regional Public Prosecutor's office; Lucjan Medrzycki, the provincial commander of the Fire Brigade; Bronislaw Pawlowski, a worker at the Machine Construction Enterprise in Klobuck; Marek Szymanski, director of the provincial PIH [State Trade Inspectorate] in Czestochowa; Andrzej Martyka, Klobuck KMig first secretary; Lech Ksiazkiewicz, deputy provincial prosecutor in Czestochowa; Jan Makowiejczuk, KG first secretary in Przyrow; Michal Atlas, PZPR Central Committee Administrative Department director. Attention was focused on the consistent disclosure and punishment of the perpetrators of various crimes. It was also indicated that all citizens are uniformly bound to abide by the law. The establishment of a general public attitude of censure of those preying upon others depends equally on trade union, PRON cell, and factory collective activity. This is not so, however, since the state and not the citizen is responsible for law and order. It is necessary to openly and honestly reveal the lawbreakers in one's own backyard, be they in the factory or neighbors. It is also necessary to overcome the atmosphere of tolerance for the lawbreakers and not permit individual shrewdness in the acquisition of wealth through illegal means, through universal censure rather than approval.

During the plenum it was determined that public evaluation of pathological phenomena and issues concerning law and order consists of individual perceptions. Our joint obligation is then to search for the causes and suppress the criminality at its source.

During the discussion colleagues also indicated the need for modification of the existing laws and implementation of new ones. The clarity and facility of the interpretation of the laws must become the basis for the justice system.

The plenum resolution obligates the PZPR cells and organizations as well as the entire party membership to establish an atmosphere of censure in the factories and other places for incidents involving violation of the law, dishonesty, and incidents of social pathology. Party organizations will also be obligated to carry out periodic evaluations of the status on property protection in industry and institutions, the operation of internal supervisory cells, proper use of materials, raw materials, fuels, etc. Party control commissions are also advised to carry out periodic evaluations on the attitudes of party members in leadership positions. The KW Executive Board and the basic party organizations are being required to support the law and order forces, the administrative justice units, as well as the professional and public control units in order to strengthen the struggle for social

justice and the elimination of social pathology. The Czestochowa governor was advised to bring about a more complete implementation of the adopted timetables and individual programs in the struggle with social pathology phenomena. He was also advised to carry out a current appraisal of the policy of the nonsocialized sector and to bring it in line with the actual needs of the provincial population.

Wladyslaw Jonkisz, the KW first secretary chaired the PZPR KW Plenum session in Czestochowa. Michal Atlas, the PZPR Central Committee Administrative Department director was also present.

#### Elblag Party Secretary Visit to Countryside

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 22 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Anatol Burtowski]

[Text] Jerzy Probiecki, Elblag PZPR KW first secretary together with KW Executive Board members Franciszek Hilze, Col Miroslaw Wojdak, and Sztum KMG first secretary Adam Wisniewski recently visited the Koniecwald PGF [State Farms], in order to observe a farm, learn about its workings, and speak to the farmers who had decided to disassociate themselves from the Agricultural Combine in Czernin, and attempt to work independently. This then is our story concerning the visit.

Koniecwald is approximately 50 km from the provincial capital and about a 20 minute drive from Sztum. A little further on, one must turn off the main highway and drive over a back country road. It is afternoon on a very hot and muggy day. On both sides rye and cole is growing abundantly, further along pastures and meadows are covered with bales of fresh hay. Then one comes upon what looks like a farmstead or settlement with surrounding fruit, trees, and vegetable garden.

We stop in front of a rather imposing residence. Next to it is an extensive courtyard with various machinery and equipment already prepared for the harvest. There is a low barn, warehouses, repair shops, fuel depot, and a big tree with a stork family. To the right is a common with flowers. It is clean and neat although one notices manure heaps. That's how it should be says the energetic, tanned fortyish PGR director, Jozef Sarnowski. There is nothing to be ashamed of, after all this is a farm and not a rose oil factory. At the appropriate time we will take it out into the fields.

This portion of the farm is located in the nearby locality of Wegry.

We descend into the cellar of the house which has been turned into a cafe through the combined effort of the youth. It is not big, but it is anticipated that more of these will appear in the Tri-City area and in Elblag. It is stylized with wood paneling, a bar, television and new stereo equipment.



PGR deputy director, Walery Jurkiewicz, POP first secretary Hubert Przybylski, chairman of the Workers' Council Frunon Sarnowski, and trade union secretary Leszek Bucholc will also be here.

Tell us how you manage the farm, the KW first secretary asks?

They enumerate: there are 1,123 hectares of plowable land, 163 hectares of meadows. We have about 145 individuals employed, and of these 6 are public. The inventory breakdown is as follows: 220 cows, 94 heifers between the age of one half to 2 years, 75 young cattle for fat stock, 36 calves from 2 weeks to 6 months, and in addition 2,200 hogs and 40 horses. We also have some tractors, although not as many as we would like. Above all we have hands and brains and can work and think.

What has been the result of this? Agricultural results must be measured in longer terms, but that which has already registered in the account soon after the start is very important because it signifies the opportunities for today, tomorrow and the day after. It was unfortunate that 2 years ago following a stormy discussion at a general PGR workers meeting they resolved to disassociate themselves from the combine with 20 million zlotys in their name. A year after their separation, they had a 7,800,000-zloty profit, during the current business year they will earn over 5 million in profits. On the basis of the effects of the Elblag PGR activity, however, this is a rare occurrence of not simply making it but actually coming out with a profit.

The PGR director noted that we could have a bigger profit but we are making repairs, and above all, have resolved to deal seriously with an amelioration of the housing situation which has been neglected all these years. This mainly concerns the Wegry settlement, which is the most neglected. We have allocated 15 million zlotys for repairs and improvements in housing.

B. Sarnowski added that this 15 million zlotys represents our goal. What I mean by this, he said, is that each year we wish to allocate this amount for housing. This is very important for us. From the very beginning, the Workers' Council elected by the workers has placed great emphasis on the amelioration of the social-living conditions of the workers. Currently, the trade union which was registered several weeks ago and already has 45 members is taking these matters over from us. And I know that they intend to take care of them.

Leszek Bucholc: We will not ease off. Since we are here for this reason. At least for the time being we are not waging a special struggle with the leadership, since they are aware of this urgent need. We are also doing our best to obtain bathroom facilities for the workers. We will next turn our attention to vacations, leave, and salaries.

Director Sarnowski confirms the fact that public affairs, working conditions, and living conditions influence effective economic production, and he notes that "our existence or nonexistence depends upon this." In addition to the amelioration of the living conditions, it is apparent to us that we must also do what has not been done in over 20 years. We are aware that without a

housing guarantee we will not get any new workers, and some of those already employed may leave, especially the young people. If we could only build at least 12 houses per year.

Adam Wisniewski: We try to create the best possible conditions for the development of all forms of housing construction in the city and the gmina.

Jerzy Prusiecki: Out of necessity even the provincial enterprises, such as the Elbag Brewery, are undertaking these tasks and they are managing quite well.

Hubert Przybylski: We don't just sit around either. For the time being we intend to build 4 houses at our own expense. So that it will be cheaper, we plan to use our own prefabricated concrete plant. We have our own construction and repair crews, and we also have 15 individuals who are willing to do construction work.

Walery Jurkiewicz: We are a relatively small farm, our capabilities are limited, and therefore we have limited influence. We need investment capital since we will not be able to finance our needs with working capital. In order to save a sufficient sum for the development fund, we would have to net 40 million zlotys annually. At the same time, we are pressed for time. Hopefully if we continue to have progressively better harvests, obtain more milk from the dairy cattle, and follow an economically sound policy, we will earn higher revenues and will have high development fund allocations. In this way we will be able to finance investments, including housing. At the same time, the combine which we disassociated ourselves from continues to burden us obstinately with interest payments from credits which they contracted in previous years. The money was not used in the Koniecwald PGR, and yet they have burdened all their former and present farming units with this debt. The 9 million zlotys which we never received are being paid back at 1,800,000 zlotys annually. We will still have this liability for several more years.

They are still talking about their inability to sow wheat on poor soil, as nothing seems to grow. The same is true with barley. Insofar as grain is concerned rye, oats, and clover may be sown. They are concerned with the fact that the effort expended in growing wheat or rye is equal, but the profitability differs. The views are that this is detrimental. As is the case with the cost for machinery, for the means of production, for fertilizers, and for outside workers, charged by industry. You can hire a POM [State Machine Stations] worker for one or two hours to change a pipe and he will proceed to send you a bill for 40,000 zlotys.

Or the fact that there is an urgent need for a new vehicle. So they asked the minister for one, and he responded that they would have to turn to a provincial distributor. They did this and received a notification from the PPGR that the UW [Provincial Office] Agricultural Department had indicated that out of 40 vehicles allotted to the province, only 4 are authorized for socialized agricultural use. The remainder are for the private farmers. Thus Koniecwald did not receive any, and they are angry.

Truthfully, their alcohol distillery helps them in earning good revenues. They also seek funds elsewhere. They own a small mansion in Goraj, which they wish to renovate, and the monuments conservation fund will assist generously and their costs will be covered. They will convert the mansion into 2 or 3 apartments for workers, and 7 rooms for hunters from abroad who will pay in dollars. As a result they will have funds to restore another mansion in Wegry. In this case they also want to clean out a pond located in the fields, stock it with fish as they did with a reservoir.

The above represent important matters for them but nonetheless incidental ones. They depend and want to continue to do so on their agricultural production and livestock. They gave the peasants 300 hectares of land, since the people had to drive 20 km or more to reach the fields. They are already producing more on the remaining fields. They are increasing the cattle stock, and the dairy cows are currently giving an average of 3,300 liters of milk.

They see the opportunity for further increases in dairy cattle productivity. They are trying to grow their own fodder, and are planning their own feed mixing facility. Hog raising appears to be profitable. They have enough grain from the distillery, yet they want the weight gains of the animals to be greater. In this way there will be quick rotation in the barns. Last year they sold 3,500 hogs and this year 5,000.

Director Sarnowski notes that the strengthening of motivation and work output is a very important matter, and adds that we have developed factory bonus tables, but we perceive that the discrepancies are still quite high for truly efficient work and mere presence. Here we must implement changes, and adopt a mechanism which would make it worthwhile to work efficiently. We already have an idea. We will get together with the POP, the workers' self-management organizations, and the trade union to discuss this, we will probably disagree as to the recent bonus distribution. But if the workers' representatives approach the matter equally realistically, we will work out a compromise.

Upon the return to Sztum where the field trip session of the KW Executive Board debate was taking place, Mirosław Wojdak recapitulated on the Koniecwald visit. He noted that the impression appeared good, the leadership and aktiv know what they want and are aware of the needs. They have demonstrated good economic and management results, but at the same time are self-critical and aware of the deficiencies and the need for future higher standards of efficiency. They appear to be successfully learning about the reform.

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## PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

### Control in the Party

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 13 Jun 83 pp 1,2

[Article by (bem): "Control in the Party"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] Last Friday and Saturday the Kielce Province PZPR Provincial Audit Commission (WKR) held plenary deliberations attended by chairmen of the local and plant commissions, combined with a training seminar on the party's tasks ensuing from the current socio-political situation. Stanislaw Grabski, the chairman of the WKR, preented a report on the results of comprehensive inspections conducted during the first quarter of this year at 357 basic party organizations (POPs).

The nearly 2 years of activity of these organizations were assessed, and the inspection teams were interested in the whole of the statutory activities of the POPs: both in formal-organizational activities and flexible activities dealing with inspiration, ideological upbringing and inspections. /The 357 inspected organizations account for about 12 percent of all POPs in Kielce Province; this thus provides representative analytic material, the more so considering that their inspected activities pertained to all kinds of communities: urban (98 POPs), rural (112 POPs), plant (143 POPs), plus other communities (4 POPs), associating nearly 15,000 members and candidate members./

What is the picture of the party in the light of the facts uncovered by the WKR inspection teams? It is a complex picture. Side by side with organizations that perform well and very well there are those who are relatively passive or perform definitely badly, failing to utilize all their statutory rights. The typical shortcomings include irregular attendance at meetings, unsatisfactory state of discipline, lack of regular cooperation with the plant management, local administration, youth and social organizations and the local authorities.

Practical ways of utilizing the inspection findings were considered in the discussion. It was pointed out, for example, that control activities were not confined to preventive measures and also included punitive measures wherever disregard and neglect of duties is encountered. The "armchair" work of certain political functionaries of the party echelons also was criticized. Many local organizations are awaiting their direct help and advice.

The plenum of the WKR was also attended by Maciej Lubczynski, first secretary of the Province Committee. He gave assurances that the province party echelon will utilize the inspection findings to improve the programming of party work. /Quite a few party elements and echelons approach such inspections as a kind of



cataclysm and as a consequence fail to utilize them as an important tool for overcoming their own weaknesses./ M. Lubczynski also declared that /the habit of self-evaluation is indispensable for the entire party. It is not enough to be informed about the inspection findings. Now that we know better what we stand on, specific steps have to be taken. The paramount task, consonant with the resolutions of the 12th Central Committee Plenum, is strengthening the basic party elements by overcoming and eliminating the weak sides of their activity./

#### Party, Workers' Self-Government Responsibility

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 17 Jun 83 pp 1,3

[Article by Ryszard Klimaszewski: "Partnership Only?"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /Slowly but more and more tangibly, our economy is getting stabilized and so is, along with it, our daily life. An overwhelming majority of enterprises—including the Bialystok, Lomza and Suwalki ones as well—is recording a steady increase in production, improving their basic economic relations and—at considerable effort as yet, but effectively—surmounting supply problems and negative tendencies./

/This is indisputably due to the socio-political measures of the party and the government ensuing from the program of the 9th Congress, inclusive of the effects of the economic reform—despite the still existing shortcomings in that reform. This is at the same time a testimony to the support of this policy by the working people, who realize that we can and must surmount the present crisis ourselves./

But to accomplish this goal and hence also improve living conditions, further efforts, and solid ones at that, are needed. Such is the truth. We must—as declared by /the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum—consistently apply the economic reform, the 1983-1985 Socio-Economic Plan and the anti-inflation and conservation programs. Their implementation/--we read in the resolutions--/is at present of decisive importance to the material conditions of life, the socio-political stabilization and the evolution of public moods in this country./

#### Tendencies and Reflections

The hard reality and the tasks ensuing from it for the next few years spotlight the role and duties of /worker self-governments/. These are—as known—something new in the system of socialist democracy in our country. Endowed with broad powers, they have great possibilities for shaping production plans and influencing production processes and the results of labor and their division.

But there arises the question: since self-governments at present are really self-governing, have many powers and are by decree independent of the party, how should party organizations operate within the present structures of the reformed enterprises so as to, implementing the party policy, exercise the party's leading and guiding role?

This issue is of fundamental importance in our socialist state. Consider that worker self-government--this important executor of the reform--was established on the party's initiative, owing to the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Congress. It was owing to the inspiration and activism of the basic party organizations that as many as 70 percent of all enterprises in Bialystok Province were permitted to establish worker self-governments toward the end of last year. At present, of the 119 autonomous state-run enterprises authorized to maintain worker self-governments, 114 already are maintaining them and the remaining 5 will establish them in June.

In principle, the process of forming worker self-governments has been completed. It has not been easy. As in other regions of the country, in Bialystok Province, too, particularly in the city of Bialystok, the formation of worker self-governments encountered resistance and difficulties so that, as a result--several months after the permits had been granted--the elections have not been held or completed.

Manifestations of class struggle also were not lacking. For example, at six enterprises attempts were made to boycott the elections; at three, the legal recognition of "old" councils, which included--not by accident--accidental people, was demanded; and at two, party members were not allowed to join the self-government bodies.

An overwhelming majority of the enterprise workforces did not, however, listen to adventurist incitations. Remembering the bitter experiences of the past, and being well aware of who is who, and guiding themselves by their own plant interests, they elected /persons deserving recognition and trust/ to worker self-governments and councils--persons from among themselves, directly from the workstations. Thus, /the delegates of the workforces included 61 percent blue-collar workers, of whom 17 percent party members, and the worker councils consist nearly in half of blue-collar workers, of whom 22 percent PZPR members./

These phenomena and facts clearly demonstrate the control function of the party organization at the enterprise. As we read in the resolutions of the 12th Central Committee Plenum: /"The principal task of the party remains the defense and strengthening of the historic accomplishments of socialism and a resolute struggle against the domestic and foreign enemies of socialist Poland."/ Hence also /"...the basic party organizations should attend to the proper position of worker self-governments and counteract both the underestimation of their role in the management of the enterprise and attempts to conduct under their cover any political activities contrary to the interests of the society and the socialist state."/

It was not without reason that this important recommendation has been formulated. There are plants such as the Sierzana Bialystok Wool Mill, the Bialystok Poultry Factory and the Hajnowskie Works for the Dry Distillation of Timber (PSDD) at which worker councils utilize their competences in conformance with the interests of the workforces and society. They cooperate well with the management and party organizations. But there also are plants at which the self-governments have not yet determined their own statutes and in principle are inactive, while the worker councils are dominated by the management and, owing to unfamiliarity with the reform, secondary instead of important problems are being solved, the competences are taken over by meetings of delegates or trade unions (regarding the approval of the statute of the enterprise, the allocation of vacation furloughs, etc.) and

doubtful decisions are made, such as awarding "honored employee" badges without taking public activism into account.

Although the formative process of self-governments and the creation of conditions for their activity can be positively assessed on the whole, it has to be stated that /their activities display too many shortcomings and defects/. There are worker self-governments and councils which combine the interests of the workforce with the public interest, but there also are some which display parochialism and prefer selfish advantages over effects important to the economy and the population.

It is self-evident that in such cases /party organizations may not remain passive/. Being the basic elements of the PZPR--that guiding force of the nation--they have the right /and the duty to influence the activities of worker self-governments and councils and support them but at the same time resolutely intervene in cases of distortions and errors and defend the party policy./

#### In the Thick of Worker Problems

It might be observed that the party has abandoned directive-type forms of activity. It is true, as has been repeatedly emphasized, that the party is the same and yet not the same. Its methods and style of work also have changed. Hence also, when we speak of the leading role of the party, we refer not to directives from the plant party committee or the POP executive board /but to the active participation of party members in various organs of the enterprise. The point is that the party organization should, through its members, monitor what is happening at the work establishment, provide active help in the activities of the management, the self-government and the workforce, and assure that the decisions be consonant with the state's socio-economic policy./

Examples: The comrades at the Bialystok Construction Combine pointed out to the worker council the lack of information about its activities, which is causing it to become somewhat isolated from the workforce; the comrades at the FADOMA Factory provided a critical assessment that served to energize the activities of the worker council at that factory; the comrades at the Repair and Production Plant for the Mechanization of Agriculture criticized the council for focusing too much on wage problems.

The participation of POP secretaries and executive boards in the sessions of worker councils is becoming a widespread practice, and at some plants such as the Sierzana Bialystok Wool Mill, worker councils and party organizations hold joint sessions in order to discuss important topics such as, more recently, conservation programs.

As I pointed out above, on the average, some 22 percent of the members of worker councils also are party members. On the average, because at several councils /(Adhesives Industry Works, Hajnowskie PSDD, Michalowo State Farm, Dabrowa Bialostocka and Monki Machine and Tractor Stations, LAS Bialystok Forest Production Enterprise (BPPL)), PZPR members account for one-half of the membership and at some 15 or so other councils they account for 15-40 percent of membership./

It is precisely the party members who serve on worker councils that should, by organizing themselves into party groups, implement the party's policy toward self-governments. The first seven such groups have already arisen at, among other places, the Bialystok Industrial Construction Enterprise, the Street and Bridge Maintenance Enterprise and the SPOMASZ Bialystok Food Industry Machinery and Equipment Factory (BZMiKS). It can be expected that, following the 12th Central Committee Plenum the number of these groups will increase greatly, particularly considering that party echelons will draft in the very near future the principles for the operation of these groups in self-government organs.

Of course, the fact itself of the formation of these groups still does not solve the problem. The exercise of basic functions by the basic party organizations and their authority at the plant /will be decided by the activism and attitude of every individual party member/. To lead one has to be ahead of others and provide a good personal example, listen to the public mood, convince and persuade and react to injustices and erroneous undertakings.

It might seem that these matters are self-evident. But the actions of the 12th Central Committee Plenum have to be borne in mind and stressed. For the fact is that, following the reports-programs campaign, many party organizations have become complacent. And yet--despite the gradual improvement--living conditions still are difficult owing to the crisis. Hence also and precisely the need for a continuing activism of plant party organizations among the workforces, for strengthening the tie with the working people and representing and defending their just interests.

#### Party Tasks in Construction Community

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 15 Jun 83 pp 1,3

[Article by M.L.: "Party Tasks in the Construction Community"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /OWN INFORMATION. Yesterday the secretaries of the party organizations active at Poznan construction enterprises held a conference in Poznan. The conference was attended by Edward Lukasik, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee. It discussed principal problems relating to the role and tasks of the party organizations and the PZPR community committee and considered ways of better and more effective action./

It was stressed that in intra-party matters the principal task of the party aktiv is to consistently strengthen the bonds between the PZPR and the working class through daily contact with working people. It was also stated that at some enterprises the party groups display insufficient activism. The need for joint party meetings with all participants in the construction investment process in order to discuss crucial economic problems was pointed out.

Attention was also drawn to the need for closer cooperation between the party organization and trade unions and worker self-governments, as well as for involvement in the solving of the problems relating to the social services and living standards of the workforces.

At present the most important task to all party organizations--as stated by Edward Lukasik, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee--is intensifying



the political activities. This also ensues from the resolution of the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Yet there are some organizations at which meetings are held rarely and party members do not pay their dues regularly and do not receive party recommendations. He also informed those present that the preparations for the Pope's arrival have been completed in Poznan and that preparations for a worthy celebration of the 27th anniversary of the Poznan events are continuing.

Concerning economic problems, the first secretary mentioned the need for the involvement of party organizations in problems relating to the application of the economic reform at enterprises and in the drafting and subsequent monitoring of the implementation of conservation and anti-inflation programs.

### Party Tasks for Everyone

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 21 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by W. Nowak: "A Task for Everyone: With a Thought of the Party"]

[Text] In recent months much has been said about tasks for every PZPR member at party organizations--especially during reports meetings, as well as at meetings discussing the resolutions of the province reports-elections echelons. This concerns individualized tasks, that is, tasks assigned to every individual member, and it is associated with the desire to create energetic party organizations that act on a year-round basis rather than only at meetings. Most often the related postulates are formulated by old party members with longtime seniority; those who remember the immediate postwar years when every PPR [Polish Worker Party] member had an individual task assigned to him by his party organization at whose meetings he would brief comrades about fulfilling it. In principle, there had been no passive PPR members. Besides everyone who had joined the PPR expected to volunteer for difficult and arduous public service.

And how are things today? When I conducted a mini-poll, as it were, among the members of a POP consisting of some 15 persons--asking them what were they doing for the party aside from, of course, attending meetings and paying dues, they were unable to answer my question--with the exception of members of the executive board, who had the heaviest task burden. The most burdened person was--and this is most often the case--the POP secretary.

The party statute specifies quite precisely the duties of the PZPR member in its pertinent part. But what matters is that these general formulations and principles be translated into the language of concrete action. At many party organizations this has been successfully accomplished: each party member was assigned a task at a POP meeting and his implementation of the task is even being recorded. Everyday life at work establishments, in the community, in the neighborhood, brings many difficult and complex problems as well as matters that are only seemingly trivial and marginal, which should be resolved primarily with the active participation of party members--according to their possibilities and qualifications. Persons with a particular attitude for conducting party training, for example, are assigned training tasks by the party organizations; others are assigned to visual propaganda and the distribution of propaganda materials. Others still are assigned work in the parents committee or settlement committee or in various social, occupational, youth, etc. organizations.

This raises the question of what to do with those party members--good, model workers--who are incapable of undertaking such tasks? For example, they are not good public speakers or they lack organizational or propaganda talents. Are there many such members? I think yes. There is only one party statute and it obligates all PZPR members equally regardless of their position. This is true, but it should be borne in mind that an important task posed precisely by the statute to party members is leadership at work, self-discipline, dutifulness, honesty, struggle against evil and--this too is specified in the statute--a conscientious execution of duties toward the family and the upbringing of children in the spirit of patriotism and in accordance with the principles of socialist morality. I think that these tasks are extremely important to all members.

#### Basic Activities of Party Organizations

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 22 Jun 83 p 3

[Comments by party secretaries in Gdansk and Elblag provinces: "The Activity of Basic Party Organizations is Decisive" under the rubric "Following the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The 12th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee deemed the growth in the activism and role of basic party organizations to be a particularly important task. The need to strengthen the authority and importance of basic party organizations (POPs) and branch party organizations (OOPs) was the special topic of a recent plenary session of the Gdansk Province PZPR Committee. For it is precisely at these basic party levels, which are associated with plant workstations, that the party's program of action, nominally termed the program for "struggle, national accord and socialist renewal," is taking practical shape and the quality of their performance accounts for the real picture of the situation throughout the party./

/At present this situation is definitely different compared with more than a year ago. At a definite majority of party organizations the discipline and efficiency of organized action have improved and they are tackling with increasing boldness and effectiveness the issues of concern to the communities in which they operate. But instances of passivity or opportunism on the part of certain activists still persist./

/The POP and OOP secretaries from the Gdansk and Elblag provinces comment below on the situation at their organizations and the tasks they undertake to implement the resolution of the 12th Central Committee Plenum./

/Mieczyslaw Smiejak, first secretary of the OOP at the Industrial Design Bureau of the Paris Commune Shipyard in Gdynia:/

I believe that it is still too early to speak of implementing the resolution of the 12th Central Committee Plenum. We discussed this at the last session of the executive board of our organization. Opinion was divided, /with some comrades voicing a certain disappointment because the plenum did not treat comprehensively

of ideological problems and did not define unambiguously the status of the basic party elements—the basic and branch party organizations—in relation to the administration./ And yet this concerns implementing the idea of the guiding role of the party, regaining authority and what we call "the power of breakthrough."

/My organization consists of 57 PZPR members. In practice, though, only about 15 or so most active comrades do most of the work. I think that this situation is fairly typical of many smaller organizations. For while during the martial law period/ the shipyard used to be often visited by representatives of the central and province party authorities, at present--except for Province Committee secretary Mieczyslaw Chabowski, who continues to feel a shipyard man--this bond has become weakened as it were.

At present /we attach great importance to participation by party members in the strengthening of trade unions as well as in the activities of the plant structure of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]/. We are accomplishing things, although I will not say that we are accomplishing enough. At our next meeting we shall discuss tasks relating to the implementation of the plant conservation program for the 1983-1985 period. As a project-design bureau we want to achieve measurable savings as part of anti-import action by making appropriate proposals in the research plan.

/We maintain close contact with the bureau's ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth]. Its chairman attends weekly party group briefings and raises issues of concern to youth./ The initiative for plant-sponsored single family home building is being promoted at the shipyard. Young people have started to build their homes on their own.

/On the other hand, the quality of party training leaves much to be desired./ This is due to problems in securing sufficient lecturer services. The self-education approach does not always produce the desired results. The socio-political and economic information prepared for secretaries and group leaders by the plant center for ideological-upbringing work also is not sufficient. I believe that these reservations should be considered when drafting the training program for 1983-1984.

/Henryk Mielewski, first secretary of the PZPR POP at the Gdansk ELEKTROMONTAZH Enterprise for Production and Assembly of Electrical Equipment for Construction Industry:/

Our party organization has adopted the following directions of action to implement the resolutions of the 12th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Among the most important we consider measures to improve the working conditions, wages and social services for the workforce. We examine thoroughly and penetratingly and try to resolve any grievances and proposals submitted to us by employees. /We are proposing a more equitable wage system for the plant that would at the same time stimulate greater work productivity./ We shall discuss this issue at a POP meeting to be attended by the plant management. As a rule, we consult the workforce on such matters.

/We are taking steps to elevate the level of party training and deepen knowledge about Marxism and the party program./ In assigning specific tasks to our members we strive to stimulate their activism. This also manifests itself in the more active participation by our members in the plant trade-union organization.

The members of our POP also involve themselves in work within the elements of the PRON.

/We established close contact with the worker self-government. We support its activities and attempt to enhance its authority while at the same time making sure that it operates in accord with public interest./ Jointly with the self-government, we monitor the implementation of the plant conservation program and the application of the economic reform.

Through our activities we attempt to rebuild the bond of trust in the party and strengthen its authentically leading role.

/Irena Ostalowska, first secretary of party organization at the Elblag TRUSO Clothing Industry Works:/

Our party organization consists of 240 members. This is not much considering that the workforce of this enterprise consists of about 1,700 employees. An overwhelming majority—as much as 94 percent—are females.

The specific nature of our enterprise engenders problems on which we work. Questions relating to production and a smooth supply of materials predominate. To our female employees, who are burdened by problems of daily life and job and household duties in a situation in which much time has to be spent on buying many needed items, the most important thing is the smooth rhythm of production which prevents stoppages. A no less important problem is the attendant earnings.

Women most often come to us about matters requiring intervention. We, on our part, if we find that the employee is right, attend to the problem. In this respect we have no trouble in resolving the problems with the enterprise's management. Most often it is housing problems, but our possibilities in that respect are extremely small.

Since 1980 we deleted 80 persons from our membership roster. We regard it as a success that the decline in resignations from membership in our organization has halted. Instances of surrender of party cards no longer occur. A worker council has been formed at the plant. We expect that, together with us and the trade-union organization, it will contribute to improving the situation at the plant and help accomplish goals important to the entire workforce.

/Mieczyslaw Witos, farmer, secretary of rural POP in Banina, Zukowa Gmina [Parish]:/

The problems of the 12th Plenum have already been discussed at the 15 or so basic party organizations active in our gmina. In Banina, too, we are preparing such a meeting. Doubtless this will also be reflected in the materials and resolution of the plenary session of the PZPR Gmina Committee in Zukowo.

At many meetings harvest preparations also are being discussed. We intend to invite the director of the Zukowo Mechanization Services Plant of the Agricultural Cooperative Circle to the POP meeting in Banina so that he may instruct comrades how to adjust harvesting machinery. The harvesting equipment and machinery owned by farmers should suffice to conduct grain harvesting rapidly and efficiently within 14 days—of course, if the weather is favorable. /Owing to,



among other things, the initiative of the party organization, our village has fulfilled the plan for grain procurements from 1982 harvests. Now we are facing a new task, that of fully implementing the plan for grain procurements from this year's harvests. The members of our POP should lead in implementing these targets; they themselves plan to sell 15 tons of grain to the state./

The members of our POP have a lively interest in all issues of concern to agriculture. Recently we discussed proposals to revise taxes and the prices of certain farm produce. We believe that the proposed tax system should be simplified and made more lucid. Many of us also demand a reduction in the tax rates specified in the proposals. As regards the proposed prices of farm produce, some farmers believe that the livestock procurement prices have not been increased enough. In addition, farmers should continue to be enabled to purchase feeds and coal for grain, and it is necessary to introduce a periodic allocation of coupons for purchase of artificial fertilizers by farmers who make contractual deliveries of grain or other farm produce. We are currently ending the mowing of hay—the year's first harvest has been good. Everything indicates that the grain harvests also will be successful.

/Waclaw Nejman, first secretary of the POP in Mielewo Village (Elblag Province):/

Our POP has 18 members. Until recently it had more, but at a meeting in February we resolved to exclude from our organization six members because they had not been fulfilling their statutory tasks.

We attend to problems of concern to the countryside and farmers. For example, at our last meeting this month we considered the problems of procurements of farm produce and preparations for the harvesting campaign and contracts drive. These issues are important not only to party members but also to the entire local public. We made recommendations concerning, among other things, the course of grain procurements and the unsatisfactory—in our opinion—performance of the local grain depot. The management of the gmina cooperative promised to consider the matter and we hope that this season there will be no problems with grain storage.

Our assessment is that this year the Agricultural Cooperative Circle [SRK] is performing better. There are fewer complaints and grievances. This has undoubtedly also been helped by the good weather, but the organization of labor itself is better—at least farmers are not making any major complaints. However, the harvesting campaign will be the main test of the efficiency of the SKR.

We have not either received complaints about the performance of the Gmina Office, the Seed Testing Station [SOP] and the dairy. Store supplies also are feasible. Thus, we assess positively the work of the institutions serving agriculture.

As for current party matters....A great deal of work awaits us in order to revive the activities of our organization. In recent years the neglect in this field has been considerable. The operation of the local organization leaves something to be desired in comparison with its former good traditions, but I think that in general it is far from the worst. But we must strive to reattain our former effectiveness.

We are slowly regaining public trust, but we want to be respected as in the past and our work in that direction is unremitting. We tackle all issues important to the countryside.

/Antoni Szczerkowski, first secretary of the POP at the Province Union of Dairy Cooperatives in Elblag:/

At the meetings of our party organization we consider all issues important to us as the workforce of the enterprise, that is, production, conservation of the raw material, namely, milk, and conservation of the energy required to process it. At our next meeting we will consider the introduction of conservation and anti-inflation programs at the cooperative. What concerns us is that the program should envisage not only savings of money and raw materials but also a better utilization of the physical efforts of the employees.

/The organization is slowly recovering its activism. We notice that as yet not all party members speak as candidly at meetings and in private conversations as they had used to./ We must break through this barrier and show that there shall be no return to bad methods of directing the party.

We also are overcoming the incomplete trust felt by some individuals in the actions of the authorities. Tendencies to exaggerate occasional minor mistakes and evaluate on that basis the entire functioning of the state still recur. The fact that, for example, cheese has not been delivered is viewed very seriously, although the driver alone was responsible.

People come to the organization with many problems. My impression is that they come to us with their grievances more often than to the already functioning trade unions. /We don't refuse help and, in an overwhelming majority of cases, our intervention with the cooperative's board produces positive results./ This may be too early to mention, but another positive manifestation of our activity is that we will /admit three new candidate party members in the very near future. These admissions will be the first since a long time./ We also are preparing to establish a TPPR [Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship] circle within the cooperative.

My feeling is that representatives of the higher authorities do not make sufficient uninvited visits to us. They could explain certain current matters at meetings, because I don't know everything. We would then avoid delays on some matters.

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PLENUM DECISION ON SELF-MANAGEMENT, WAGE INCREASES IN 1981-1985 PLAN

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[Decision of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party on the Firm Application of the Principles of Self-Administration and Worker Self-Management, the Improvement of the Economic and Financial Mechanism and of the System of Payment for Labor, and the Growth of the Pay in This 5-Year Period]

[Text] The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, meeting on 29-30 June 1983, analyzed and discussed the measures and tasks referring to the implementation of the Program for the Firm Application of the Principles of Self-Administration and Worker Self-Management, the Improvement of the Economic and Financial Mechanism and of the System of Payment for Labor, and the Growth of the Pay in This 5-Year Period.

Prepared on the initiative and under the direct guidance of the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in conformity with the objectives and tasks set by the 12th congress and the national conference of the party, the program illustrates the Romanian Communist Party's consistent policy of growth in material production and its efficiency, of continual improvement in the economic and financial mechanism and in social relations and of creation of all the conditions for continually increasing the material and spiritual well-being of the whole populace--the supreme goal of the party's policy, of our socialist order.

The plenum places a high value on the role and the revolutionary creative thought of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on the special contribution to the preparation and scientific substantiation of the policy of developing the national economy, of promoting the outlook according to which the successes obtained in material production, in speeding up the growth of labor productivity and efficiency, are the basis for continually raising the standard of living of the whole populace.

In the years of socialist construction, Romania has experienced strong economic and social development, has been transformed into an industrial-agrarian country, with strong and modern industry, with advanced socialist agriculture. In the same period, the industrial output has risen about 50-fold, the agricultural output 3.5-fold and the national income 15-fold. The fixed assets are now

at more than 2 trillion lei, with over 80 percent of them being put into operation in the last 15 years.

Science, education and culture--essential factors for the homeland's general progress, for successfully advancing along the path of socialism and communism--have been developed strongly.

Along with the strong development of the production forces, harmoniously distributed among all counties of the country, the average number of worker personnel rose from 4,305,000 persons in 1965 to 7,553,000 persons in 1982.

The worker personnel's average monthly pay, without tax, rose 2.5-fold, from 1,028 lei in 1965 to 2,525 lei in 1982. As a result, big changes occurred in the distribution of the worker personnel according to the level of pay, with the percentage of personnel with higher wages rising significantly. Thus, the percentage of worker personnel with wages of up to 1,500 lei fell from nearly 92 percent in 1965 to 4 percent in 1982. While only about 2 percent of the working people achieved wages of over 2,000 lei per month in 1965, their percentage reached nearly 73 percent in 1982.

The peasantry's net monthly incomes obtained from agricultural production cooperatives and personal farms--per active person--rose from 495 lei in 1965 to 1,838 lei in 1982.

The incomes obtained by the population from social consumption funds rose from 22.9 billion lei in 1965 to 91.4 billion lei in 1982, coming to 12,728 lei per family on the average, as compared with 3,858 lei in 1965.

The average state social-security pension for old age and full seniority rose from 671 lei per month in 1965 to 1,493 lei in 1982.

The rate of housing construction, among the highest in the world, has contributed to the continual improvement of the population's living conditions and to the modernization and flourishing of the homeland's localities. Thus, the number of apartments built from the funds of the state, the enterprises and the cooperative and public organizations rose from 333,000 in the 1966-1970 5-year period, to 513,000 in the 1971-1975 period and to 755,000 in 1976-1980. In just the first 2 years of the current 5-year period, 302,000 apartments were put in use.

The 12th congress of the party, which set as a basic objective Romania's passage to a new stage of development, the achievement of a higher quality of work and life in all fields of activity, constitutes a point of reference for the future development of the Romanian economy.

Good results were obtained in the first half of the current 5-year period, results concretized in the consolidation of the country's economic and social development, the faster progress of its own base of raw materials and energy, the reduction of the consumption of raw materials, fuel and energy, the better utilization of material and labor resources, the growth of national income and the achievement of active foreign balances of trade. These results confirm the



correctness of the decisions of the 12th congress and the self-sacrifice with which the working people are striving to steadily implement the party's policy and to solve the problems and overcome the difficulties caused by the negative effects of the world economic crisis and by some shortcomings and certain contradictions between some sectors of activity.

The average nominal incomes of the worker personnel were 2,678 lei per month in 1982, 8.8 percent higher than in 1981, with a fair ratio still being provided between the low wages and the high wages. At the same time, the peasantry's monetary incomes obtained from labor in agricultural production cooperatives and from personal farms were 7.2 percent higher in 1982 than in the preceding year.

In conformity with the program approved, the reduced workweek of 46 hours was generalized throughout the economy in 1982.

The incomes from pensions rose, with the average state social-security pension for old age and full seniority being 1,493 lei per month, as compared with 1,380 lei in 1981.

Through the allocation of large amounts of funds from the state budget in this period, education of all grades continued to be developed and improved, the activities in the field of culture and art continued to be expanded and diversified and the material base for the population's health care continued to be expanded and modernized.

Remarkable results were obtained in the field of scientific and technological research, which put a bigger accent on solving the problems regarding the supply of raw materials, energy and fuel, the intensive development of agriculture, the improvement of technologies and the assimilation of new products.

The results in the first half of this year, better than those in the same period of last year, demonstrate that we possess all the conditions for fulfilling and overfulfilling the 1983 plan provisions.

The splendid achievements obtained in socialist construction, especially after the ninth congress, are directly connected with the tireless activity performed with deep revolutionary passion and high responsibility for the homeland's destiny by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and chairman of the Socialist Republic of Romania. In the last 18 years, a strong innovative spirit and a profound creative effervescence have been imparted to the economic, social and political life in our country, with man and his happiness and general well-being occupying the center of the policy of the party.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party judges that the new measures to strengthen worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration, to improve the system of payment for labor and to increase the pay of the working people correspond to the current stage of economic and social development of the country, to the requirements of the new economic and financial mechanism, to the organizational framework of worker

democracy based on the direct participation of the masses in the management of the economy, of social life, of the whole society. These measures pursue the development of socialist property, the even firmer application of the socialist principle of distribution in relation to the quantity, quality and social importance of the labor performed, the closer connection of each working person's individual incomes with the results obtained in fulfilling the production and export plans, with labor productivity and the degree of utilization of material resources, with economic efficiency.

Starting from the results obtained and the requirements for applying the decisions of the 12th congress and the national conference of the party, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party approves the Program for the Firm Application of the Principles of Self-Administration and Worker Self-Management, the Improvement of the Economic and Financial Mechanism and of the System of Payment for Labor, and the Growth of the Pay in This 5-Year Period, improved on the basis of the proposals made by the working people during the public discussion, and decides:

I. The Measures To Improve the Economic and Financial Mechanism and the System of Payment for Labor and To Increase the Incomes of the Working People Must Provide for the Firm Application of the Guidelines of the Secretary General of the Party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Regarding the Strengthening of Self-Administration and Worker Self-Management and the Closer Connection of Each Working Person's Incomes with the Fulfillment and Overfulfillment of the Plan Targets

For implementing Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's outlook, which confers new dimensions on the policy of continually raising the standard of living and the degree of civilization of those who work, decisive action must be taken to more markedly increase labor productivity, raise the quality of the products, better utilize raw materials, fully utilize the production capacities, increase production and exportation, reduce material consumptions and obtain high efficiency in all sectors of activity--decisive factors in economic and social progress, in the growth of the working people's incomes.

II. Regarding the Strengthening of Self-Administration and Worker Self-Management and of the Responsibility of All Working People for the Direct and Efficient Management of Each Economic Unit and for the Protection and Development of Socialist Property

1. For accomplishing the objectives and tasks for erecting the multilaterally developed socialist society, all units must firmly apply the principles of self-administration and worker self-management and must perform their activity on the economic principles of efficiency and profitability. Each economic unit must provide its own funds for development and incentives and participate with as high a share as possible in forming the resources needed for the general development of society.

The working people's general assembly, a higher form of achievement of worker self-management, a forum through which the working class provides the management of the entire economic and social activity, must exercise fully its rights

and powers with which it has been invested and must discuss and adopt decisions on the entire economic and financial activity, on the administration and continual development of the socialist property entrusted to the staff of working people. At the same time, the general assembly, as an expression of the democracy of our socialist order, must exercise continual control over the way in which the working people's council, its executive bureau and the personnel with management positions perform their tasks and act to fulfill the plan provisions.

The working people's council bears the direct responsibility for the proper administration and development of the socialist property entrusted to the unit and must put in the center of the concerns the more marked growth of labor productivity, the intensive use of the production capacities, the better utilization of all material resources, the strict observance of the consumption rates and quotas, the rational utilization of the work force, the continual improvement of professional training, the firm application of the measures to improve the pay system, and the mobilization of all resources to obtain bigger, high-quality outputs with as low expenses as possible.

The working people, as owners of the means of production--assets of the whole populace--and, at the same time, producers and beneficiaries of the material and spiritual values, bear the entire responsibility for the direct management of each unit, for the maximally efficient use of all material and financial means entrusted.

2. In order to strengthen worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration and increase the responsibility of all working people, the collective leadership bodies, the ministries and the central bodies in the protection and development of socialist property, the pledge contract is introduced.

The pledge contract is concluded between the state, as general administrator of the property of the whole populace, and the staffs of working people in each enterprise, central and ministry.

By means of the pledge contract between the state--represented by the ministry or higher-ranking central or local body--and the staffs of working people in the enterprises and centrals, the holdings of the socialist units are entrusted to the worker personnel, with a view to the direct exercise of the prerogatives and responsibilities that result from the working people's capacity of owners, producers and beneficiaries. The pledge contract contains the obligations and responsibilities of each staff of working people with regard to properly administering and developing the holdings of the socialist units, as well as the rights of the worker personnel to participate directly in the management of the enterprise, in the preparation, adoption and implementation of the decisions.

3. The pledge contract between the state and the ministries, as administrators of the holdings of the economic units in the subordinate sectors, establishes the obligations of the ministries to act continually regarding the maximally efficient utilization of the production potential of the component units, the better utilization of material resources, the assimilation of new products and the introduction of advanced technologies, specialization and cooperation in

production, the contracting for the production for the domestic market and for exportation, the providing of a good technical-material supply, and the exemplary fulfillment of the plan targets, under conditions of greater efficiency.

4. Each working person will sign an individual pledge through which he assumes the responsibility of fulfilling the obligations that devolve upon him from the pledge contract, of completely performing the production tasks, of complying with the technological and labor-discipline standards, of securing the use of machines and equipment with high efficiency, of efficiently utilizing raw materials, supplies, fuel and energy, of acting to raise the quality of the products, and of militating for the strict application of the party decisions and the country's laws.

By signing the individual pledge, the director of the enterprise assumes the responsibility for the maximally efficient administration of the entire holdings of the unit and for the application of the measures needed in order to fulfill all the plan targets.

The ministers, the heads of the other central and local bodies and the directors general of the industrial centrals will sign an individual pledge through which they will assume the responsibility for the fulfillment, under conditions of maximum efficiency, of the plan indicators in the subordinate units as a whole.

5. The working people's general assembly will periodically analyze the way in which the obligations assumed by means of the pledge contract are being fulfilled and will establish measures for administering the unit's holdings with maximum efficiency.

The working people's councils in the enterprises will take action regarding the precise application of the provisions in the pledge contract, will follow and analyze periodically the manner of fulfillment of the provisions in the contract and will establish the measures that are needed for providing the technical, organizational and economic conditions for fulfilling the plan in all sectors of activity.

At the same time, the working people's councils will report to the general assemblies about the manner of fulfillment of the provisions in the pledge contract, proposing measures for more firmly applying the principles of worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration and the socialist principles of remuneration and for increasing the economic efficiency.

### III. Regarding the Improvement of the Pay System, for Increasing the Personal Interest of the Working People in Fulfilling and Overfulfilling the Plan Targets; the Expansion and Generalization of Overall Piecework

1. The improvement of the system of payment for labor is based on the following principles:

According to the constitution, each citizen has the right and duty to perform useful labor; the socialist society guarantees to each citizen the right to



work in accordance with his aptitudes and training and the needs for the economic and social development of the country;

The consistent application of the socialist principle of distribution in relation to the quantity, quality and social importance of the labor; no one can receive pay and no one can have a guaranteed income or share in profit if he does not work and if he does not produce in accordance with the obligations at the workplace; equal pay will be provided for equal work;

The incomes of the working people in relation to the quantity and quality of the labor performed and to the results in production are unlimited;

The faster growth of labor productivity than of pay in all branches of the economy, so as to provide both the funds needed for raising the pay and the resources for covering the general expenses of the state;

The expansion and generalization of overall piecework, which will constitute the main form of remuneration and will include all personnel within the enterprises; all categories of personnel in the socialist units will perform their activity on the basis of scientifically substantiated labor quotas and rates;

The growth of the variable part's percentage in the total incomes of the worker personnel, by increasing the piecework allowance and the fund for participation in the fulfillment of the output and profits and in the division of the profits, and the growth of the fund for awarding bonuses for special achievements and of the raise for continuous service in the same unit.

2. For more firmly applying the socialist principle of distribution, by more closely connecting each working person's incomes with the results obtained in production, in all economic units they will proceed to the generalized application of overall piecework at the level of the whole enterprise, on the basis of a contract concluded with the unit or with the higher-ranking body, which will provide for the concentration of the efforts of all the working people to achieve the planned output on schedule and the growth of the responsibility for properly administering the means entrusted by society.

The workers, foremen, technicians, engineers and other categories of personnel, including the management personnel, will be included in overall piecework, so that this form of remuneration is applied to at least 80 percent of the total number of worker personnel.

Each work staff has the right and obligation to organize its activity as well as possible, so as to provide the full utilization of the production capacities, the maintenance and repair of the machines and equipment at the proper time, the rational use of the work force, and the economization of material resources.

3. In order to personally interest the work formations in achieving as big an output as possible, the pay fund stipulated in the overall-piecework contract will be determined on the basis of the rates per unit of product, set in relation to the manual labor needed for making the product, for all categories of personnel.

The pay fund due each formation will be determined on the basis of the quantities of products achieved and the rate set per unit of product, without being limited both in the case of fulfilling and in the case of not fulfilling the plan targets. This fund is divided among the members of the formation in accordance with each one's contribution to achieving the output and with the basic wages.

The pay fund set in the overall-piecework contract remains the same regardless of the number of personnel with which the respective formation operated. In the case in which the output was achieved with a lower number of personnel, each one's income is increased in proportion to the contribution to achieving the output and to increasing the individual labor productivity and that for the whole unit.

4. Each work formation, brigade, section, lot, worksite, agricultural farm and so on included in overall piecework will be given the targets for physical output and for output meant for exportation, the quality conditions, the dates for achieving the output, the maximum consumptions of raw materials, supplies, fuel and energy, the expenditures for maintenance and current repairs, and the administrative and management expenditures.

5. The remuneration in overall piecework will be done in direct relation to the physical output achieved, on the condition of fulfilling the plan indicators and other targets that will be set, in a varying manner, according to categories of personnel (workers, foremen, technical and engineering personnel in the production sections, personnel in the enterprise's management and the other categories of personnel) and according to branches, subbranches and activities, depending on their specific character.

6. In order to stimulate the growth of exportation and its efficiency, the worker personnel in the foreign trade enterprises and in the foreign trade sections in centrals and enterprises will be paid on the basis of quotas, applied to the value of the exportation and importation, varied according to groups of goods and according to the main products. The pay quotas for exportation will be higher than the quotas for importation. In addition, stimulative quotas will be set for other foreign trade operations. The sums due, determined on the basis of the quotas approved, are not limited.

The producing enterprises and the foreign trade enterprises, respectively, that do not fulfill their obligations stipulated in contracts, thereby causing the failure to fulfill the export targets, pay penalties and damages, under the conditions set by law.

The foreign trade enterprises are obligated to take steps with regard to providing contracts in advance for the whole export plan, increasing the efficiency of exportation and diversifying the activity on the foreign markets by also promoting the exportation of other products than those in their line and to exercise continual control in the producing units over the achievement of the goods for exportation on schedule and with good quality.

7. For the worker personnel not included in piecework or in overall piecework, precise job obligations and tasks will be set on the basis of labor quotas and

rates, and the remuneration will be done in relation to the fulfillment of them.

For the management, technical, economic and other specialized personnel, including the ministers, in ministries and other central and local bodies that coordinate economic activities and the personnel in the industrial centrals, including the directors general, the remuneration will be done in accordance with the average of the achievements in all of the subordinate units, in relation to the degree of fulfillment of two to four plan indicators--commodity output, exportation, labor productivity, net output or other specific indicators.

8. The suitable application of the measures to further improve the pay system requires that the economic units provide for the sensible administration of the pay fund in direct correlation with the fulfillment of the plan indicators and take steps to better substantiate the labor quotas, depending on the changes in the technical equipping, the expansion of the mechanization and automation of production and the improvement of the manufacturing technologies. The economization of live labor and the more marked growth of labor productivity must be provided by means of the labor quotas.

The pay fund is planned according to production units, on the basis of the labor-consumption rates per product or operation, and is allocated to plants, factories, sections, shops, worksites and work formations in conformity with the planned structure of production and the volume of labor set in accordance with the technologies used.

9. The pay fund resulting by totaling the individual rights of all the worker personnel in the economic units, determined in accordance with the law, is released by the banks within the limit of the pay fund calculated in accordance with the fulfillment of the physical output--in close correlation with the growth in labor productivity--the export plan, the value of the net output, the commodity output sold and paid for, and other indicators, as the case may be.

In order to strengthen the responsibility of the personnel in the management of the enterprise, factory or plant in fulfilling the plan indicators, the pay fund for these personnel and for the personnel not included in overall piece-work is calculated in relation to the degree of fulfillment of the physical output, the export plan, the value of the net output, and the commodity output sold and paid for.

#### IV. Regarding the Growth of the Pay of the Worker Personnel and of the Incomes of All Working People

1. In accordance with our party's consistent policy of raising the standard of living, the wages of all categories of worker personnel will be increased, beginning in September 1983, in a manner spread out according to branches and activities. The growth in the incomes from labor will be achieved both by increasing the basic wages and by increasing the variable part in the total income of the working people.

The average monthly levels of the nominal pay, including the payroll tax that is paid by the enterprise, of the net nominal pay and of the real pay, at the end of the raise in wages--in August 1984--and in 1985, as compared with those achieved in 1980, will be the following:

Pay	August			August 1984/1980 (%)	1985/1980 (%)
	1980 (lei)	1984 (lei)	1985 (lei)		
Average nominal pay, including the tax paid by the enterprise	2,613	3,466	3,616	132.5	138.4
Average net nominal pay	2,238	2,925	3,045	130.7	136.1
Real pay	2,238	2,350	2,417	105.0	108.0

2. The increase in the basic wage will be accomplished under the conditions of maintaining, on the whole, the hierarchization of the wages according to branches, which corresponds to the current stage of economic and social development of our country.

In view of the importance and the content of the activity performed in some sectors, the basic-wage systems will move to a higher level of hierarchization for the workers in drilling, in crude-oil and gas extraction, on rotor excavators and other heavy equipment in open-pit coal mining, and in the coking plants, the tanneries and the glass industry, and other categories of personnel in activities into which new, highly complex equipment and technologies have been introduced or in activities with harder working conditions.

The ratio between the minimum pay and the maximum will be 1 to 5.52, it being practically at the level existing now.

3. The variable part of the pay will increase so that in the second part of 1984 it will represent over 23 percent of the incomes obtained from labor. The increase in the variable part will be achieved mainly by means of those elements of the pay of a nature to stimulate the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan, the growth of exportation, the raising of labor productivity, the reduction of production costs and, on this basis, the achievement of greater profits, a large part of which goes to the working people.

4. In order to stimulate the staffs of working people to reduce production costs, raise labor productivity, increase the quality of the products and achieve higher profits, the quotas for forming the fund for participation by the working people in the fulfillment of the output and profits and in the division of the profits are raised. The sums obtained in this way will represent 4 percent of the pay fund in the economy, as compared with the about 2 percent that it is now.

5. In order to provide greater stability to the work force, along with the increase in the basic wage, the raise that is given for continuous service in the same unit is increased; its percentage in the total incomes obtained from labor will be 5 percent on the average in the economy, as compared with 2.9 percent



at present. The service raise will be granted beginning with a length of service of 3 years in the same unit; the personnel with a length of service of over 5 years will receive increased quotas of raise.

The quotas of the basic wage for the raise for continuous service in the same unit are the following:

Brackets of Continuous Service in the Same Unit	Personnel in All Branches and Sectors of Activity (Excluding Those in Columns B and C)		Personnel in the Mining Industry Who Work on the Surface		Personnel in the Mining Industry Who Work Underground; Workers, Operational Personnel and Locomotive Engineers in the Railroad-Operating Units of the Ministry of Transportation and Telecommunications with Activity Directly Connected with Traffic Safety; Longshoremen, Operators of Port Equipment and Drivers on the Wharf	
	A		B		C	
	Cur-	In-	Cur-	In-	Current	Increased
	rent	creased	rent	creased		
1-3 years	-	-	2%	3%	3%	4%
3-5 years	-	3%	2%	4%	3%	5%
5-10 years	3%	6%	3%	6%	5%	8%
10-15 years	5%	9%	5%	9%	7%	11%
15-20 years	7%	12%	7%	12%	9%	14%
Over 20 years	10%	15%	10%	15%	12%	18%

The raise for continuous service in the same unit will be included in the computational base of the pension, for the pensions that will be set beginning with 1 September 1983.

6. The economic units that produce for exportation and those that furnish sub-assemblies, spare parts and basic components that are included in products meant for exportation will form the fund for participation by the working people in the fulfillment of the output and profits and in the division of the profits in accordance with bigger quotas than in the units that produce for domestic consumption. These quotas will be varied in relation to the exported production's percentage of the total production; at the enterprises with a big volume of production for exportation, the quota will be more than 4 percent of the pay fund. The supplementary fund for the exported production will be allocated to the worker personnel who participated in achieving this production.

For the products meant for exportation or those that are furnished in cooperation to be incorporated into exported products, bigger profitabilities and profits, varied in relation to the exported production's percentage of the total production, will be provided, within the framework of the profitability and profit for the whole enterprise.

The extra inducement for the enterprises that produce for exportation must lead to the growth of the volume of exportation, the achievement of high-quality products competitive on a world level, the obtaining of better financial and

valuta results and the growth of each enterprise's contribution to forming the country's valuta resources.

7. For encouraging the special achievements obtained by the worker personnel, the fund meant for awarding bonuses during the year will be increased, it being formed on the basis of a quota of 2 percent of the planned pay fund, as compared with the 1 percent that it is at present. These bonuses will be awarded particularly to the worker personnel who contributed to the achievement of high-quality products with lower consumptions of raw materials, supplies, fuel and energy.

8. Through the raise in the basic wages and the increase in the variable part, the working people will receive additional incomes that total, in the course of a year, more than 25 billion lei.

The increase in the incomes obtained from labor will lead to big changes in the distribution of the worker personnel according to the level of pay achieved. Under the conditions of fully utilizing the worktime and fulfilling the labor quotas, the production plan and all job obligations, no working person will achieve incomes of less than 1,700 lei per month, including 1,500 lei as the minimum basic wage; the percentage of the worker personnel with incomes of more than 2,500 lei per month will rise to about 85 percent, as compared with 46 percent at present.

9. The peasantry's real incomes, per active person, achieved from labor in agricultural production cooperatives and from personal farms will be 12.2 percent higher in 1985 than in 1980.

The incomes of the peasantry will rise as a result of the increase in the average yields per hectare and per animal and of the delivery of a bigger part of the output to the state units, under the conditions of the stimulative prices and bonuses set in 1981-1982.

At the same time, the state will further provide for the supplying of the peasantry with industrial products needed for productive and individual consumption, in a diversified range and at fixed prices.

All these measures will help to intensify the exchange between the village and the city and to strengthen the economic alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

10. The social-security pensions will be raised, on 1 May 1984, for all categories of pensioners, in a manner varying in relation to the level of the pensions; the low pensions will rise more markedly.

The average real social-security pension will be 5.6 percent higher in 1985 than in 1980; the average nominal pension for old age with full seniority will rise from 1,335 lei per month in 1980 to 1,775 lei in 1985.

The funds that are being granted for raising the state social-security pensions and the social aid total, in the course of a year, about 3.5 billion lei.

11. In the spirit of the plenum's decision, the cooperative, mass and public organizations will establish suitable measures, taking into account the specific character of their activity, for firmly applying the principles of self-administration and worker self-management, improving the economic and financial mechanism and the system of payment for labor and increasing the wages.

V. Regarding the Growth of the Role and the Responsibility of the Party and State Bodies, the Trade-Union and Youth Organizations and the Other Mass and Public Organizations in Implementing the Measures To Strengthen Worker Self-Management and Improve the Pay System

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party judges that the Program for the Firm Application of the Principles of Self-Administration and Worker Self-Management, the Improvement of the Economic and Financial Mechanism and of the System of Payment for Labor, and the Growth of the Pay in This 5-Year Period, prepared on the initiative and under the direct guidance of the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, corresponds fully to the requirements of the current stage of intensive development of the Romanian economy.

The fulfillment of the provisions of the program will help to mobilize the creative energy of all the working people and will stimulate the initiative of the working class and the entire populace for substantially raising the qualitative level of the economic and social activity. The implementation of the program requires the growth of the role and the responsibility of the party and state bodies and the collective leadership bodies in the strengthening of worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration.

1. The party organizations in the economic units, the city, municipal and county party committees, the trade-union and youth organizations, the collective leadership bodies, and the staffs of working people will act, through all the means that they have at their disposal, to create the material, technical and organizational conditions needed for implementing the measures for improving the system of payment for labor and increasing the pay.

2. The collective leadership bodies in enterprises, centrals and ministries and all working people have the duty to provide the conditions for the generalization of overall piecework in all the economic units, through the organization of production and labor at a suitable level, the improvement of the maintenance and repair activity and the reduction of the indirectly productive personnel.

3. All party organizations, collective leadership bodies and staffs of working people will put in the center of their activity the full, highly efficient use of the production capacities, the entire potential existing and all fixed assets. The growth of the value of the output obtained per 1,000 lei of fixed assets and the growth of the commodity output and the incomes of each unit will be provided in this way.

4. Under the leadership of the party bodies and organizations, the staffs of working people in the industrial and construction units, in agriculture and in

the other branches will act to fulfill their own programs of measures regarding the better utilization of all material resources and the reduction of the specific consumptions of raw materials, supplies, fuel and energy and to continue at a steady rate the activity of redesigning the products, renovating and modernizing the technologies, increasing the energy yields of the equipment and standardizing the products.

5. In each economic unit, the working people's general assemblies and councils will establish the measures needed for carrying out their own programs for the recovery and reuse of materials and the reconditioning of spare parts, subassemblies and so on.

6. The more marked growth of labor productivity, the decisive factor that provides for the growth of national income, the sole source of economic and social progress, of the growth of the incomes of all the working people, will be put in the center of the concerns of all the economic units. To this end, firm steps will be taken to intensify the actions of introduction of technical progress and of expansion of the degree of mechanization and automation, to better organize production and labor, to improve the setting of the labor quotas and to continually raise the professional skill of the working people. At the same time, action will be taken to reduce the consumption of manual labor per product or operation, to limit the indirectly productive personnel to the bare minimum and to raise the entire activity to a higher qualitative plane, with a view to attaining levels of productivity comparable to the best in the world.

7. The party, trade-union and youth organizations and the working people's councils in all the economic units will devote greater attention to raising the level of professional skill and training of the workers, engineers, technicians and all personnel, in order to utilize with maximum efficiency the machines and equipment with which the enterprises are endowed, and to efficiently utilizing all the worker personnel.

8. The party organizations and the working people's councils in all the economic units will manifest greater exactingness regarding the raising of the quality of the products, the observance of the technical, economic and functional parameters set, and the growth of the competitiveness of Romanian products on the international market.

9. The party organizations, the communists and the other working people in the production and foreign trade units will take firm steps regarding the complete fulfillment of the contractual obligations for exportation, the delivery of the products on time and with suitable quality, and the raising of the efficiency of exportation. The application of the measures to stimulate the production for exportation must increase the responsibility of the working people's councils and each work staff for diversifying the production and promptly adapting it to the requirements of the foreign customers, prospecting the foreign market and increasing the production for exportation.

10. The collective leadership bodies in the technological research, design and engineering units will secure, in close connection with the industrial and agricultural units, the introduction of new, improved technologies, the



application and generalization of the results obtained by the research units, and the reduction of the research-design-production cycle, with a view to obtaining high-quality products with as low costs as possible. Scientific research must increase its contribution to creating new products that would provide for the reduction of imports.

11. The financial and planning bodies and the banks, together with the ministries, the local bodies, the centrals and the enterprises, must act to introduce a strict policy of economy in all sectors and to utilize the material and monetary funds with maximum efficiency and must pursue the growth of the profitability and profits of all the economic units and the firm application of the principles of the new economic and financial mechanism.

12. The party, mass and public bodies and organizations and the working people's councils will perform continual activity regarding the strict observance of order and discipline at each workplace and the strict application of the standards referring to the performance of the production process, securing the fulfillment of all job duties with a sense of high responsibility.

13. To the party, trade-union and youth organizations in the enterprises and to the city, municipal and county party committees go highly responsible tasks in generalizing the advanced experience in production at all the workplaces, in promoting the new, in securing the understanding of the content and sense of the new measures to improve the pay system, and in mobilizing all the worker personnel for the exemplary fulfillment of the plan targets of each work staff and each working person.

14. The Council of Ministers, the ministries and the county people's councils will take steps to firmly apply the program's provisions, so as to provide for the continual growth of production and labor productivity, the reduction of production costs, and the achievement of high efficiency and of the resources needed for increasing the population's incomes and raising the whole populace's standard of living--the supreme goal of the policy of the Romanian Communist Party.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party expresses its conviction that through the application of the program's provisions new dimensions will be given to individual and collective initiative, to the responsibility of all the working people for efficiently administering the material and monetary funds, fully utilizing the production capacities and the work force and, on this basis, increasing the incomes of all those who work.

The plenum asks all the working people, regardless of nationality, as owners, producers and beneficiaries, to act responsibly to strengthen worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration, steadily achieve the physical output and increase the quality and efficiency of the entire economic activity.

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## ROMANIA

### DIALECTICAL UNITY OF OBJECTIVES OF 1848 REVOLUTION

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 10 Jun 83 pp 29-31

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Pospiliu Teodor, Cluj-Napoca Babes-Bolyai University]

[Text] Historians quite rightly regard the 1848 Revolution as a higher stage in an evolutionary process that ran through modern Romanian society. The revolution was the point in Romanian history at which Romanian society, due to the changes in its structure, enabled its aims to be conceived in terms of the national program. Expressing par excellence the developmental stage the modern Romanian nation had reached, the revolution opened wide the paths to the future by its demands.

The process of modernizing the structures of Romanian civilization had as its standard the Pasoptist ideas included, with an acute sense of historical necessity, in the revolutionary programs of the three Romanian lands. On that subject, RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu has pointed out the progressive nature of the Romanian Revolution of 1848 and concluded that the expansion and consolidation of capitalist relations "required both social reforms to permit free conduct of economic, industrial and commercial activities and expansion of the domestic market by removing the artificial barriers between the three Romanian lands, uniting them in a single state, and concluding the process of forming the Romanian nation and the single national state." (1)

In keeping with the broader context of the revolutionary events taking place in Europe in 1848, the Romanian bourgeois-democratic revolution was not a creation of any foreign forces or influences, to be sure, but the natural outcome of the evolution of Romanian society and a reflection of the Romanian people's legitimate aspirations to do away with feudal servitude and to create a free and independent country for themselves. As Nicolae Balcescu correctly commented, the general European revolution "was the occasion and not the cause of the Romanian revolution. The cause of it is buried in centuries on end."

From the standpoint of the structural processes of Romanian civilization, the Romanian Revolution of 1848 was the historic act essential to the evolution of the modern nation, whereby the Romanians followed a more general evolution characterized by the democratic revolution. Abandoning the nonhistorical, dogmatic

view that denied the revolutionary character of Romanian Pasoptism, in the last two decades Romanian historiography has developed the general picture of a uniform revolution. Taking up the thread of the progressive historical interpretations, especially Nicolae Balcescu's conception of the origin and character of the revolution in the area of the Romanian lands and the view of Romanian democracy, historiography evolved in the direction of defining the nature of the revolution. After a prolonged historical investigation, pages were written describing its social and national aspects. Since a too categorical dichotomy was sometimes made in the past between the social and national aspects, their historically supplementary nature may have been obscured and the national character of the democratic social reforms was not always sufficiently stressed, just as at other times the national character of the revolution was partially subject to the romantic, idealist conception of the national that was current in the period.

On the basis of the idea of a uniform Romanian revolution and the entirety of the phenomena involved in this historiographic concept, including the dependence of the social reforms advocated by the revolution upon unification of the Romanian lands, we feel it necessary to discuss the above-mentioned aspects.

A leading political personality on the revolutionary scene, Nicolae Balcescu included ideas in his theoretical writings that may suggest a course to follow. In the two dissertations "Progress of the Revolution in Romanian History" and "Revolution of the Romanians in Transylvania," written in Paris after the revolutionary events took place and with a profound historical understanding of the past, he introduced in his explanation of the 1848 Revolution, along with the idea of the succession of revolutions in Romanian society, both Morea's Uprising and the contribution of the Romanian Enlightenment, which laid "the foundations of the Romanian nationality and disseminated the idea of its unity." (2)

His alignment of those two "revolutions" with Tudor Vladimirescu's revolution in 1821 and his integration of both in the course of the Romanian revolution unquestionably makes the revolutionary democrat the author of an original idea. And so let us retain the fertile idea of the succession of crucial social and ideological phenomena in modern Romanian society that bear out the conviction about the dialogue of the social with the national that dominated the determination of the phenomenon of the 1848 revolution. At this point the historian's conclusion is complete and all-inclusive, condensing the social and the national in close interdependence. "The future revolution cannot be confined to wishing the Romanians to be free and equal owners of land and capital and brothers associated in the achievement of common progress. It will not be confined to demanding freedom from within, which is impossible to gain without freedom from outside, from foreign domination, but will demand national unity and freedom. Its watchword will be 'Justice, Brotherhood and Unity.' It will be a national revolution." (3) In giving priority to the national, national freedom and national achievements that would "free the nation from foreign oppression," in other words the national-state structure, Balcescu also thought political and social reforms could be started that way that would "institute democratic rule, rule of the people by the people."

Examination of the process of growth, gradual development and maturity of the modern phenomena in Romanian society reveals the uniformity of the 1848



Revolution resulting from the regular evolution of preceding demographic, agrarian, industrial and ideological phenomena. The complexity and interdependence of the phenomena that ultimately determined the character of the 1848 Revolution are also noteworthy. "The revolutionary programs, united on the essential problems they expressed, stressed the aims that had also become objective necessities that had taken form and substance ... throughout the previous century." (4)

These general European developments and the society of the Romanian lands attested a process of intensive social and political development in the 18th century. Under the particular historical conditions, the crisis of the same feudal society brought about the outbreak of Horea's Uprising, which advanced a suitable solution to the problem of the nation in the form of a peasant program. When they rose against servitude the rebellious peasants struck a revolutionary blow at the feudal system of the time, seeking liberation of the most populous part of the nation from serfdom. The rebel program was aimed at social emancipation through abolition of the nobility. The objectives of the peasant program opposed those who represented the political system of the principality, striking at the beneficiaries of the privileges and the supporters of the regime discriminating against Romanians.

At the time of the Supplex movement (1790-1792) the national program emphasized the political demands for national rights, for political recognition of the nation, and for its integration in constitutionalism alongside the other nations in the name of the principle of equality and human rights. "Historically the problem of the Romanian people in Transylvania was one and the same, but practically the struggle for emancipation was now on two levels, that of the intelligentsia from above, from the national, and that of the peasantry from below, from the social, both of them now beyond the religious classifications. The chief aim of the intelligentsia's struggle was to elevate the Romanians to a political nation, and that of the peasantry was to abolish serfdom. But the two levels were interrelated, while each one undertook the problem of the nation itself, the one learned and theoretical, the other elementary and empirical, one reformist and the other revolutionary. They were two faces of the same body, now integrated with each other, to be identified later in the nation's single, all-inclusive revolutionary program of 1848. Historically speaking, the uprising supplemented the national program with its social aspect, the loftiness of the concept with the weight of its mass, and the reformist way with the revolutionary way." (5)

The evolution of the political movements in Wallachia and Moldavia, which was indicated in memoranda and plans for reorganizing the Romanian Principalities and became more and more cumulative by virtue of their demands, culminated in a whole program that included the demand to abolish the Phanariot regime, to throw off Ottoman domination, and to reorganize the internal structures. And so on both sides of the Carpathians the national political movement and the program of Horea's Uprising expressed the chief political and social demands and ultimately determined the main policies of the Romanian nation's revolutionary program in the 19th century.

The combination of the social with the national was the representative phenomenon at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. Thanks to the Illuminati and later the Pasoptists generation, the ideas of the political



program began to spread in society and were included in the peasants' demands, while the acute social problems were included in those of the political leaders. In Transylvania the effort on behalf of social conditions was intensified toward 1848, along with criticism of the anachronistic constitutional systems based on *Unio trius nationum*. The diffusion of the ideas of the French Revolution, the arrival of the rebelling peasantry on the scene in Horea's time, and the recurrence of the peasant movements in 1790 and the following years created the climate of asserted social options. By the beginning of the 19th century, in 1804, a new Supplex introduced the political fact of Mihai the Brave's Unification among the nation's problems as well as the Bobilna and Horea peasant uprisings.

The same diffusion of political ideology also took place in Wallachia and Moldavia, where society accepted the doctrinaire reasons for regaining independence from the Ottoman Empire in addition to criticism of the Phanariot regime.

In the same environment, Tudor Vladimirescu's Revolution was a general Romanian phenomenon by virtue of its causes and demands. Its guiding ideas were accepted and adapted to the new developments in Romanian society. Within the Carpathian arch, the restoration of the national governments in the Principalities would bring about a trend toward their national organization, which became a model that was to fascinate the Transylvanian intelligentsia from then on, just as in 1821 the peasantry hoped for expansion of the revolutionary movement.

The period between the two revolutions, 1821-1848, marked a new stage in the organization of the Romanian nation. The demographic, agrarian and industrial progress made by Romanian society resulted in a development (simultaneous in many respects) of the Romanian lands and their further integration in the more general European evolution. Characterized by the emergence of the democratic spirit, this period was distinguished by a pronounced development of national ideas, marking a new stage in the nation's evolution. Due to the gradual coalescence of the social with the national in Romanian society, the national idea gained new supports in the social structures. The national movement acquired new meanings and scope in this evolutionary process because more and more social strata joined the demanding movement. In this respect the revolutionary movement of 1840, summarizing the previous aspirations, mobilized the people to carry out the reform program ideologically and equally so in political actions. In its idea of appropriating the peasants and general Romanian solidarity, the revolutionary movement anticipated the revolutionary program of 1848. It was the period when in general the national movement tended to become a movement with mass support.

Against this background of socioeconomic development a strong intellectual movement arose, with a political ideology that gradually associated awareness of national unity with the idea of uniting the Romanians in a single country. The Romanians in Transylvania, subject to a twofold oppression from the privileged classes within and from Austrian absolutism, naturally placed their hopes in the Principalities, considering them the foundation of their national existence. Baritiu wrote in 1842, "The close national and religious communication that prevails and will prevail between the Transylvanian Romanians and the part of the nation that lives and rules in the Moldavian-Romanian lands is a powerful magnet." (6) Once the national liberation movement was radicalized and the social

and national aims of the Transylvanian Romanians' revolutionary struggle were clarified, a new dimension emerged more and more definitely in their political thought, that of their ties with the actions in Wallachia and Moldavia. In this sense the ideology brought about a wide diffusion of ideas of national unification capable of concentrating political-social action.

The 1840's evidenced a clear solidarity of the nation, apparent in the political and ideological actions in all three Romanian lands. The ideology of "literary Dacia" was set in a powerful semantic context that determined the Daco-Roman idea in the area inhabited by Romanians. The French journalist H. Desprez wrote, "This people (Romanian) constitutes a single body and the vast territory it comprises is quite rightly called Romania in the language of patriotism even if it was not so sanctioned by treaties." (7) When a modern culture emerged and the Romanian question was fixed in European opinion, thanks to the concept of the social assimilated by political thought, it ended by completing the integration of the people in the concept of the nation as its fundamental part.

In 1847 Nicolae Balcescu expressed the combination of the national with the social in the program. "I do not think our goal, sirs, can be anything but the national unity of the Romanians... We must concentrate all our efforts upon the creation of this nationality and a social reformation of the Romanians based upon the sacred principles of justice and equality. For Romanianism is our banner and we must rally all Romanians under it." (8)

The outbreak of the revolutionary demonstrations beginning in March 1848 emphasized intensive political and social actions primarily. Their simultaneous occurrence in all the historical provinces and the perception of the nation's aims proved that Romanian society was prepared for the events and had completed a rapid process of collective self-examination. Lengthy procedures involving the structures of Romanian civilization in course of modernization made it possible to formulate in a few weeks a series of demands that contributed, despite the diversity of the documents in which they were entered, to the formulation of the revolutionary program. The 35 points of the Petition and Proclamation of the Boyars and Distinguished Men of Moldavia outlined a well-defined series of national demands capable of effecting the needed reforms on behalf of social progress.

The basic social aim, "immediate improvement of the condition of the peasants," was noted at this point, at the start of the Romanian revolution, in connection with the general democratic demands based on the Romanian realities and in keeping with the ideas of the European revolution. The 1848 Revolution emphasized the peasant question and the impropriation of the peasants, and its leaders realized that abolition of serfdom in Transylvania and the corvee system in Moldavia and Wallachia guaranteed national development on the path of progress and revolutionary mobilisation of the peasant masses, who formed the great majority of the population. Supported by a broad social base, the social and national objectives eventually met with the peasants' united cooperation.

The operational program of the revolution explained the nation's vital problems more and more clearly in meetings, proclamations and manifestoes, and in the discussions that were held. Thanks to the revolutionary spirit the political ideas were widely publicized and open to the dialogue with society and with the

basic part of the nation, the broad popular masses. March and April 1848 marked a multiplication of forms of social communication and the appearance of revolutionary social movements. In Transylvania, where the national repression in the interior indicated its new intentions characteristic of feudal nationalism, the revolutionary movements in the Apuseni Mountains in spring were already of a pronounced national character. In meetings organized by future revolutionary leaders the solidarity of Avram Iancu's mountaineers with the national political ideas was made increasingly clear.

The expanding revolutionary action brought about an unprecedented amplification of the national-social dialogue in Transylvania through Simion Barmutiu's Appeal of 24-25 March 1848. Versed in Romanian political ideology, the professor of modern philosophy and leader of revolutionary youth made the first statement of the principles of the Romanian revolution's program in Transylvania. Essentially, Barmutiu's manifesto concisely announced the principles he was to develop in his famous discourse in May 1848. The revolutionary ideas of the proclamation of the Romanian nation's independence, its representation according to modern demographic criteria, and national equality were coordinated in a coherent whole with the demand for abolition of serfdom. In terms of the doctrine, Simion Barmutiu called the entire nation (in a modern, ethic sense) to revolutionary political action, subordinating individual freedom to that of the entire nation. "Without a nation even the republic is only an accursed despotism: abolition of serfdom, the Romanian nation as a Romanian nation, and a national congress where we shall first agree on gaining them, no more no less, those must come first and the others will come later." (9)

Emphasizing the demand for a political state for the Romanian nation, the manifesto accordingly proclaimed political independence and equality with the other nations, in the spirit of the evolution of the century of the nationalities. It did so then on the principle of organizing the Romanians on the basis of nationality, expressed by the other leaders of the national movement led by Nicolae Balcescu. Regarding abolition of serfdom as a main task of the revolution, it refused to confine the course of the Romanian revolution to meeting the social demands, considering the social inseparable from the general problem of the Romanian revolution.

In the Discourse delivered in Blaj in May 1848 Barmutiu developed, in a broad, modern and reasoned way, the problem of the relation between individual and national freedom and the equality of the Romanian nation with other nations, accordingly proclaiming its independence. At the same historic moment, with the support of the revolutionary multitude, the Blaj doctrinarian confirmed the necessity of national unity and support of the people. "All hold with the people and do not stray, because the people do not violate their nature, nor do the foreigners draw them as easily as they draw some from the other classes, who howl together with the wolves and rend the people together with them. Do not desert the national cause for fear of the battle." (10) Considering the people the strong part of the nation, Simion Barmutiu lent the national struggle a broad democratic base.

No one up to this time in the history of the Transylvanian Romanians had emphasized the necessity of democratizing the national movement as the Romanian revolutionary did. In rejecting clericalism and recommending lay directives in the



emancipation movement, Barnutiú expressed a viewpoint that was new in the Romanian political movement. In his works the social and the national are actually two aspects of the Romanian question that he considered identical. Moreover the decision to unite came from the popular masses, as Nicolae Balcescu recorded the wish of tens of thousands of people on the Cimpia Libertatii: "We wish to unite with Romania." In the program, the demands of the Great Assembly included the centuries-old objective of the peasantry, abolition of serfdom without compensation, a clear sign of the national consensus implemented in the fire of the revolution.

Based on democratic principles, the ideology of the 1848 Revolution accords the same rights and freedoms to the national minorities in the spirit of national equality. "The Romanian nation notifies the national minorities that it wishes to be constituted and organized on a national basis, has no hostile intention toward other nations, acknowledges the same law for all, intends to respect it sincerely, and demands due respect in return. Therefore the Romanian nation neither wishes to rule over other nations nor will allow you to be subject to others but wishes equal law for all." (11)

Thanks to Simion Barnutiú the modern democratic principle of national freedom and full equality triumphed in the Romanian revolution. Appealing to the philosophy of his century, the Romanian leader applied the great universal philosophical truths to the national realities.

The course of the Romanian revolution was accompanied by the same all-inclusive interpretation of the national and social aspirations from the Moldavian politicians, in the form of Our Principles for National Reform (12/24 May 1848), which also demanded "Unification of Moldavia and Wallachia in a single independent state." In other words, the national appears in the context of the social problems. The symmetry, perfect in content, of the Romanian programs also occurs in the Islaz Proclamation, which demands emancipation and impropiatuon of the peasants through compensation in the general context of a national program emphasizing maintenance of "independence of its administration and legislation and its sovereign right in internal affairs..." (12)

In the series of representative documents summarizing the national aspirations, "Wishes of the National Party in Moldavia" eloquently expresses the general Romanian program of the 1848 Revolution. In stating the necessity of the unification of Moldavia with Wallachia, considered a "keystone" of the national edifice, the Moldavian revolutionaries adhere to the same national principles and make the idea of unification of all Romanians triumph. The desire for unification is the evidence of the new developmental stage of the Romanian nation which, in a revolutionary environment due to the presence of the peasant and urban masses in the political arena, emerged as a dominant idea of the Romanian revolution. A result of the dialogue between the intelligentsia and the masses, the revolution shows that a national solidarity had taken form in Romanian society and that the demand for the Romanians' unification was a condensed expression of it. Integrated in part of the representative program documents, the idea of unification could not be entered in all of them because of the existing political conditions. The Transylvanian Romanians expressed their wish to unite through the peasant masses at Blaj, while the intelligentsia in all the Romanian lands considered a task of the future revolution.



The national-social dialectics in the 1848 Revolution was a permanent feature of the modern period. It accompanied the nation's political and social evolution in the 18th century and was carried over into the following century. Closely related to the process of establishing the nation, the social and national aspects in the period of formation of modern society were gradually equated and merged into a single problem of Romanian society. The coalescence of the social and the national in the decades before the revolution expressed the changes that occurred in the structures of Romanian civilization and the many processes and facets of the course of the Romanian revolution. For these reasons the 1848 Revolution synthesized the aspirations of Romanian society as a whole in political, program forms. The idea of the Romanians' unification, demanded in the days of the revolution, was a triumph in the Romanian area over the local differences and class conceptions (often contradictory and conflicting, to be sure) within the Romanian provinces, but above all it was a triumph that set future generations the task of founding modern Romania by uniting the Romanian lands.

The bloody repression of the Romanian 1848 Revolution by the armed intervention of three empires, Habsburg, Ottoman and Tsarist, could only temporarily delay the accomplishment of the social and national objectives advocated by the Pasopists and of the Romanian people's aspirations to liberty, prosperity, unity and independent development in the homeland inherited from their ancestors. Crowned the long efforts and many bitter sacrifices, the historic acts of 1859, 1877 and 1918 led to completion of the formation of the single and independent Romanian national state, while the revolutionary process begun on 23 August 1944 permitted some radical social and political changes and completion of the bourgeois-democratic reforms anticipated a century ago, as well as the transition to a new and qualitatively higher stage of the Romanian nation's development on a new social basis and to socialist construction. Complete masters of their fate, the Romanian people under the RCP's leadership are steadily progressing on the path of construction of the fully developed socialist society and elevating their nation to ever higher stages of progress.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 8, Political Publishing House, 1973, p 390.
2. Nicolae Balcescu, "Works," II, Zane Publishing House, p 114.
3. Ibidem, p 112.
4. Gh. Platon, "Origin of the Romanian 1848 Revolution," p 7.
5. David Prodan, "Horea's Uprising," II, p 711.
6. George Baritiu, "Social-Political Writings," Bucharest 1962, p 67.
7. "The Year 1848," I, pp 91-92.
8. Nicolae Balcescu, in "1848 for Romanians. A History in Dates and Evidence," by Cornelia Bodea, Vol I, pp 319-320.

9. "1848 for Romanians..." Vol I, p 403.
10. Ibidem, p 482.
11. Ibidem, pp 478-479.
12. Ibidem, p 533.

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## ROMANIA

### ROLE OF NATION IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROGRESS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 11, 10 Jun 83 pp 14-17

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Ion Rebedeu: "The Nation As an Active Factor for Contemporary Social Progress"]

[Text] Basing its entire activity upon the profoundly creative spirit of scientific socialism, the RCP is making an exceptionally valuable contribution to the development of the concept of the nation, to the minorities problem, and to the principles of international relations. On the basis of the great structural changes characterizing the present period, Romania's historical experience, the conclusions drawn from experience with socialist construction in Romania and, in general, the analysis of the world's historical development, the RCP has abundantly substantiated a coordinated view of impressive substance and theoretical power concerning the following: the role of the nation as an essential factor for social progress in today's world; the importance of acquisition, consolidation and observance of the peoples' national sovereignty; establishment of international relations on a new basis and construction of a new world economic and political order; socialism's historic mission of creating an original model of international relations that can serve as an example to all peoples by virtue of its content and results; the inherent and inseparable unity of socialism and the nations; the characteristics of the socialist nation and the requirement for its sovereign and independent development and advance as an objective necessity and a main factor for successful construction of the new order; the consistently democratic and revolutionary solution of the minorities problem; the correlation between national and international and between patriotism and international solidarity, etc. By such broad theoretical constructions with profound implications for the evolution of social and national progress and for the efforts of the progressive forces, the RCP and its secretary general have extensively enriched the treasury of revolutionary thought.

There can be only one answer to the question asked by some theorists like the noted Spanish thinker Jose Ortega y Gasset, for example, whether the nation "is not an already exhausted subject, a barren quarry from which all the existing marble has been extracted." (1) Despite those who consider the nation "a metaphor and nothing more," a "people" or a "total abstraction" and consequently regard the theories about the nation as pointless, experience and the facts tell

us quite convincingly that the problems of the nation and the national state are among the major concerns of present-day philosophical, social-political and sociological thought as well as the theoretical grounds of some heated ideological confrontations with obvious practical-political implications.

The current theoretical interest in problems of the nation such as its place and role in the world of today and tomorrow, its national identity and national values, the peoples' independence and sovereignty, national feeling, patriotism and national dignity, national awareness and the national interest, the principles that determine international relations, etc. has been and is intensely stimulated and increased by a number of objective processes of great historical relevance, including socialist construction in a large number of countries and the establishment and progress on the historical scene of a new and higher type of nation, namely the socialist nation; the socialist nations' influence and role in the contemporary world and their effort to institute new international relations; the downfall of the colonial system of imperialism and the resulting appearance and development of dozens and dozens of new nations, and the acquisition of national independence by an impressively large number of peoples in a very short time; the struggle of these new independent states for the full assertion of the nation, for economic independence and consolidation of political independence, and against imperialism and the various forms of neocolonialism; the increasingly clear tendencies of the peoples in the developed capitalist countries (established as nations in the "classic" period of the 17th-18th centuries) to oppose supernational integrations and attempts to impair or restrict national sovereignty and independence, as well as the growing reinvigoration of national feeling and interest in national values in those countries; the peoples' more and more resolute opposition to the imperialist circles' oppressive aims and to the harmful influences of the transnational companies, and their effort to preserve and strengthen their national identities as the global interdependences are intensified and expanded; the increasingly extensive and determined participation of the "third world" (the developing countries, the small and medium countries, and the unaligned countries) in international affairs; the development of a new contradiction on the world scene, parallel to the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, that is further aggravated by the division of the world into developed and developing countries and rich and poor countries and by the failure of all efforts so far to do away with underdevelopment and to create a new international economic order, tending to widen the gaps between the rich and the poor; and the worldwide confrontation of two diametrically opposed trends, namely the imperialist policy of force and dictation, consolidation and reallocation of spheres of influence, and interference in other states' internal affairs, and the trend toward a new policy on behalf of the peoples' independent development and new, democratic and equitable relations among all states.

These objective processes indicate that the nations' development and the assertion of their will to develop independently as sovereign states and to oppose the imperialist policy of domination and dictation are characteristics of our era, and that in fact this is a period of shift of the balance of power and striking a new balance among various states and groups of states. Meanwhile the states' economic interdependence is becoming increasingly evident against the background of the current scientific-technical revolution, the unified world economy, the expanded international division of labor, and the intensified economic exchanges, collaboration and cooperation.



Under these circumstances and the highly complex conditions of this period and the consequently diverse, contradictory and often conflicting interests that motivate the various social and political forces (both domestic and international) we are witnessing a bitter ideological confrontation about the role and destiny of the nation in the contemporary world alongside the critical dialogue and constructive confrontation about the desire for adequate knowledge of the evolution of the national phenomenon.

In this area I might note particularly the concepts that reflect the interests and oppressive tendencies of the imperialist circles, monopolies and supernational trusts, heralding (obviously very erroneously) the "death of the nation," the "end of the nation-state," the "disappearance" of national identity and the existence of a "trend toward supernationality," the "decrepitude of the nation and the national state," the nation's "eminently outmoded" character and "feudal reality," etc. National sovereignty in particular is attacked from this theoretical position, on the ground, for example, that it "hypostatizes the nation" and "makes a jungle of the peoples' society," that there is an "incompatibility" between sovereignty and security, between sovereignty and peace, and between sovereignty and development, that "The era of true national sovereignty is over," that the states' sovereign equality is a "dangerous formula," that the future lies "beyond" the nation-state or the independent and sovereign national state, and that sovereignty is a "bastion of reaction." Moreover the national values are considered "obsolete" and "meaningless today, and patriotism in particular is presented as an "instinct" and a "useless ideal" of no more value than "any gregarious animal affection" and pertaining to the "tribal spirit" etc. All the assertions of this kind "culminate" in the requirement to "abolish the nation" and "cast of the crapace of the nation-state" in view of the assumed necessity of "globalization," of the "world state," of "rebuilding" the peoples' self-awareness on a transnational basis, of a "global fatherland," and of transition from sovereignty, first by restricting it, to regional and then to worldwide federalism. On the ground that sovereignty and the nation-state cause international disagreements and conflicts, some theorists maintain that mankind is faced with the dilemma "either anarchy and chaos or a world state."

The RCP contests the historical viability of these highly reactionary concepts disparaging the nation and the national state as well as their advantages in present and future social evolution. Consistently following its historical and dialectical-materialist philosophy and in keeping with the contemporary economic, political, social, cultural and human realities as well as the objective laws and the system of values of humanism, the RCP believes, as Nicolae Ceausescu points out, that the nation is and will long continue to be vitally important in human society as a major factor for progress and democratic, revolutionary innovations and reforms and as a significant motive force of social-political development in the world of today. As it says in the RCP Program, "The nation's role in history is not finished. On the contrary, experience emphatically demonstrates that the nation and the national state will still have a very important part to play for a long time in society and in the struggle against the imperialist, colonial and neocolonial policy and for abolition of the old unequal relations and establishment of international relations based on new and democratic principles of dignity, equality and national and social justice." (2)

In the RCP documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's works the role of the nation in the contemporary world is based on creative development of the concept of the nation by generalizing social experience and plotting the directions of social evolution in this period. A few elements are noteworthy in this connection, such as emphasis on the synthetic quality of the nation as an essential factor for progress; determination of the nation's distinctive axiological and praxiological characteristics (in addition to its existential status as a framework for social development), that is as a creative subject of history and a collective historical personality acting on the basis of the world of psychosocial and spiritual-cultural values that shape it and enable it to influence the development of civilization; emphasis on the nation's strikingly intense and comprehensive viability and vitality and the durability of its creative and progressive powers, which clearly conform to the historical stages, social and class structures etc. and cover a long period from the fall of the feudal system up to and including the era of complete communism; broader interpretation of the very concept of the nation and the particular dialectics of the elements that structure it; in-depth study without simplifications of the relationship between the nation and classes and between national and class interests, and also of the material-mental and objective-subjective correlation within the national phenomenon; description of the role of the national mentality, especially the national culture and awareness, and of the national values (independence, sovereignty, patriotism, national pride and dignity, etc.) in the system of factors for social progress; determination of the importance of the nation's (national state's) own political organization; demonstration of the correlation between the national and international, etc.

Armed with a scientific, realistic, clear and encouraging view of the place and role of the nation and the independent and sovereign national states in the present-day world, thanks to Nicolae Ceausescu's outstanding contribution, the RCP believes that socialism is inseparable from the nation and that the new order truly creates conditions for the nations' free, unhindered and all-around development, for the complete assertion of the socialist states' independence and sovereignty, and for the formation in those states of a new kind of relations that will contribute effectively to their economic and social progress, to the leveling of their standards of economic development, and to the greater prestige and influence of socialism in the world.

Meanwhile Romania believes the new independent states and developing countries are important factors in the world economy and politics and that they have and will have a growing role in international affairs. Consequently elimination of colonial domination is only a part of the decolonization process, so that the struggle for the new states' economic and political independence, for a really equitable collaboration among and with those countries, and for the earliest possible elimination of underdevelopment is a continuation of the struggle for the peoples' national emancipation. The party secretary general says, "Solution of the complex problems in the world arena demands all states' active participation in international affairs. It is particularly necessary for the small and medium countries and the unaligned and developing countries vitally interested in democratic solution of the problems to participate actively in a new policy that will ensure every nation's independence and security." (3)

Observance of independence and sovereignty and institution of new international relations based on equality, respect and mutual benefit are the only real,

viable and lasting basis for cooperation and collaboration among states and peoples. It is not sovereignty but the violation of it that causes international conflicts. Interdependence of the states must never lead to political and economic dependence but must form the fertile background for equal collaboration, for development of ties of all kinds, and for better acquaintance and understanding among nations.

It is obvious to anyone today that the progress of the national liberation movement and the formation of more than 100 new independent states have changed the face of the world very radically, so that defense, assertion, consolidation and development of the peoples' national independence and sovereignty are being instituted and actually functioning as essential factors for present-day progress, while objectively playing an increasingly important part in the fight against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism and on behalf of the promotion of new principles of equality and equity among states. In addition to a certain attitude toward the new independent states' demands for a voice in the solution of current problems, ignoring or underrating the importance of this factor also betrays a simplistic view of the whole picture of the world of today and of the value of the forces and consequently the ideals, principles and aspirations incorporated in the system of factors for social and national progress.

The confrontation of two diametrically opposed trends in international affairs strikingly reveals the role and significance of the nation and the national state and their progressive function in the struggle against the imperialist policy of domination and dictation. Moreover these trends are reflected in ideology by the confrontation between the concepts that propagate national nihilism, cosmopolitanism and supernationality, deny the current viability and importance of the advancement of the nation and the independent national states and consider the nation and national sovereignty "anachronistic," and the concepts that support the vitality and the great creative and innovating potentials of the nation and the national states, their mission as progressive factors, and their role in restructuring international relations on a new basis.

Meanwhile the imperialist policy of force and reapportionment of spheres of influence resorts even today, although in more refined forms, to the old methods of nationalism, chauvinism, racism and discord between nations and to the strategy of maintaining and aggravating quarrels between peoples and states, which quarrels or disagreements are "a legacy of colonial, imperialist domination" (4) as Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982.

No adequate understanding or evaluation of the complexities of the world of today is possible without consideration of the dialectics of the facts, relationships and contradictions of both a class and a national character and of the particular ways in which they are interrelated and interdependent. Metaphysical and one-sided absolutes are foreign to the RCP. Its ideology and policy, firmly grounded in the historical and dialectical-materialist conception, are characterized by receptiveness to comprehensive and thorough analysis of the phenomena, because of its specific-historical approach to the problems and its flexible evaluation of the roles of the various factors and processes in the overall development according to the conditions in any given stage.



From this standpoint, taking revolutionary class positions certainly cannot mean simplifying and stereotyping social experience or presenting all the contemporary world's conflicts as of a direct class character. Experience proves that many of the quarrels, tensions, contradictions or conflicts confronting various states of the world are not direct class ones, although most of them show class influences of one kind or another in the past or in the present and are involved in one way or another with class conflicts and interests. Therefore we feel that the soundness of the approach to social phenomena, including the role and function of the nation, from class positions actually depends on whether those phenomena, presented in their actual existential proportions, are evaluated in accordance with the objective requirements of social development and with the vital interests of the peoples, of the cause of socialism, democracy and peace, and of the advancement of new relations among states and nations.

Accordingly the class approach does not exclude determination of the national significance of the social facts but necessarily requires it. Of course the national and class relationships and the national and class interests do not exist in parallel and are not two realities with no connection between them, although they are distinct and specific in value and social function. On the contrary, in societies based on classes they are interrelated and presuppose each other. The viability and fertility of the judgments, positions and conclusions formulated in the RCP documents concerning the state and evolution of the world wherein we live, the international balance of power, and the factors for historical progress depend in a relevant way upon the fact that the inherent connection between the class and national factors, their interrelations and their whole dialectics are taken into consideration in analyzing the processes.

In analyzing the problems of the contemporary world, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that today the contradiction between imperialism and the developing countries reflects the class struggle on the world scale, and that "We can say that the struggle for abolition of relations of inequality and oppression and for a new economic and political order is an expression of the conflict between oppressors and oppressed, rich and poor, in the world arena and actually a reflection of the class struggle on the international level." (5) The very disagreements and misunderstandings among various developing countries are analyzed and evaluated by the RCP not in themselves but as expressions of the sad legacy that imperialism has left and maintains in various areas of the world.

Making an absolute of the class criterion in evaluating social phenomena would remove the particular supports that lend the nation substance and viability. And some non-Marxist thinkers, obviously distorting the historical-materialist conception, maintain that there is actually no place for a nation in the theoretical structure of Marxism, "which sees only class relations everywhere." Thus the noted French jurist Georges Burdeau makes the direct statement "The class excludes the nation" in his work "Treatise on Political Science" ("Traite de science politique").

Scientific analysis of the complex problems of current international affairs requires consideration of the processes and phenomena in the light of the dialectical correlation between the national and the class factors. A great many countries today on various continents are in the stage of establishing and consolidating independent national states and becoming independent nations striving



for economies of their own and social reforms on behalf of their free and independent prosperity. Therefore, in the RCP's realistic view fraught with concern for consolidation of the advanced and progressive forces, priority should be given now not to dividing these countries according to their options for the future but to strengthening their solidarity in completely eliminating imperialist and colonial domination, in consolidating their national independence, and in developing independent economies, as essential factors for their progress and prosperity and, in general, for the development of all humanity and the consolidation of world peace.

Now and in the future the extent and intensity of social progress in the newly independent countries unquestionably depend upon the social and class distinctions that will be made in those countries and upon the options for their economic and social development, which distinctions and options are the respective countries' internal problems. Moreover it says in the RCP Program that "Transition to socialism is an objective necessity for the rapid socioeconomic progress of these countries," (6) since the capitalist way can no longer offer them the possibility of any rapid progress. Further progress of the new sovereign states depends both upon the processes of social and class distinction in the liberated countries and upon reduction and gradual elimination of the economic gaps between the developing and developed countries, eradication of underdevelopment, and creation of a new international economic order.

From this point of view and in accordance with the facts the RCP has brought out the complexity of the problems of our era and its extremely rich and varied content. As the RCP Program says, our era "is the era of the socialist revolution and the transition from capitalist society divided into antagonistic classes and based on social and national exploitation and oppression, a society that no longer corresponds historically to the new productive forces, to communist society, wherein any kind of exploitation or oppression is eliminated and antagonistic classes no longer exist. This is the era of abolition of imperialist, colonial and neocolonial domination and establishment of relations among states and nations on new principles of equality and respect for national sovereignty and independence." (7) In keeping with these facts, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 that the future belongs to a better and more just world, social and national equality, and respect for every people's right to free and independent development.

Confronted with the broad national liberation movement, the formation of the new independent nations and states and their firm resolve to assert their national characteristics and identity, to develop independently, and to participate directly and equally in the solution of global problems, some bourgeois ideologists are proclaiming the 20th century "the century of nationalism," with regrets of a colonial connotation in most cases. That evaluation is correlated, most often expressly, with condemnation of the peoples' national revival and promotion of the national values, especially sovereignty, independence and patriotism as well as national pride and dignity, which are regarded in the above-mentioned view as "national narrowness" and consequently a cause of international quarrels, disagreements or conflicts. Not infrequently the bourgeois ideologists (and sometimes, unfortunately, even Marxist journalists as well) quite wrongly label as "nationalism" or "national narrowness" the efforts to develop the socialist nation, to strengthen the socialist state's national independence, and to promote national pride and patriotism in the revolutionary socialist mentality.

But we must bring out the fact that it is the imperialist circles who, in order to accomplish their aims of domination, are promoting the idea that the nation and consequently the ideals, values and aspirations associated with it are "out-moded," and that we must go "beyond the nation-state" to supernational or transnational structures and "globalization," while they are supporting the revival, in various capitalist states, of the reactionary, neofascist forces, the dissemination of chauvinist, racist and anti-Semitic ideas and manifestations, and the policy of dividing the peoples. Under these circumstances it is proper and also urgently necessary for Marxist social research to apply itself systematically and in a broad, creative theoretical range to the national phenomenon on a world scale, in order to refute the imperialist, anticommunist and reactionary propaganda most emphatically and to contribute on the basis of the new theoretical developments to the best possible adjustment to reality of the strategy of the revolutionary forces' struggle for democratic reforms and socialism from the positions of the revolutionary conception of the world and of the new humanism. To demonstrate, from the positions of the revolutionary conception of the world and of the new humanism, the role and importance of the national factor, national sovereignty and independence, national awareness, national interests etc. in contemporary social progress and in establishing international relations on a new basis of equality, justice and equity is to make an essential contribution to in-depth study of the general-particular correlation in social evolution, to disclosure of the general social and national incentives that can further the contemporary world's development, and also to effective opposition not only to national nihilism but also to bourgeois-nationalist conceptions.

Such a theoretical procedure best meets the current requirements for supporting the strategy of the progressive revolutionary forces' struggle for social progress, democracy, a new world economic and political order and socialism, and it can help considerably to realize and exploit the nation's great creative resources and potentials, to fully assert national sovereignty and independence, and to make extensive use of patriotism and national awareness, with their rich and noble set of values based on the ideals of democracy and humanism, as important factors for rallying the masses and the peoples to the demiurgic effort to create a better and more just world. Engels said, "In the workers movement the truly national ideas that correspond to the economic facts, industrial and agricultural, that characterize the state of the respective nation are also truly international ideas at the same time." (8)

It is obvious that the theoretical view of the importance, in the contemporary world and its evolution, of the national factor or the nation, of the national identity and the values and characteristics that determine that identity, of the independent and sovereign national states, and of fully equal relations among nations based on respect and mutually advantageous collaboration etc. (a view based on in-depth historical and dialectical-materialist, creative analysis of the realities of our period, the structural changes throughout the world in the postwar period, and the directions of mankind's development) has and can have nothing in common with nationalism or incitement of national emotions, nor can it be associated in any way with bourgeois-nationalist conceptions. On the contrary, recognition of the nations' role and the objectively necessary and profoundly legitimate and progressive nature of national independence and sovereignty is essential to promotion of the high principles and values of national and social equality and justice and to pursuit of an active policy of close collaboration and cooperation among states and of confidence, understanding and peace among all nations of the world.

The advancement of the nation in the world of today is an objective necessity, a requirement based on the historical and dialectical-materialist revolutionary conception, in keeping with the trends of national existence. In creatively applying this conception to the particular conditions in Romania, the RCP solved the minorities problem in Romania in the Marxist-Leninist way by eliminating any national discrimination from the first years of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and by securing, in the process of socialist construction, fully equal rights for all Romanian citizens regardless of nationality and their close collaboration and friendly unity in the struggle for the vital common aims. As the party secretary general pointed out, "We can be proud of the way we have solved the minorities problem by making it possible for the workers of various nationalities and the entire people to participate in the development of socialist society." (9) Experience and the evolution of the social and national processes throughout the world prove that consistent promotion of the principles of equality among nations is an essential requirement for solving mankind's problems today, for creating a new international economic and political order, for developing lasting collaboration and cooperation among all peoples and nations of the world, and for the triumph of peace, progress and civilization.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Jose Ortega y Gasset, "Velasquez, Goya," Meridiane Publishing House, 1972, p 167.
- \* The bourgeois globalist ideas are analyzed in depth in Elena Florea, "The Nation: Realities and Prospects," Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1982, pp 18-70.
2. "RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism," Political Publishing House [PPH], 1975 p 143.
3. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech on Current Stage of Socialist Construction in Romania and on the Party's Theoretical and Ideological Problems and Political-Educational Work, Delivered at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982," PPH, p 76.
4. Ibidem p 78.
5. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 13, PPH, 1977, p 108.
6. "RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism," p 192.
7. Ibidem, p 21.
8. K. Marx, F. Engels, V. I. Lenin, "On Proletarian Internationalism," PPH, 1959, pp 154-155.
9. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the National RCP Conference, 16-18 December 1982," PPH, p 46.



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